nside Story of Japanese Newspapers—Harry E. Wildes

FREE WORLD

James F. Byrnes
By
Ulric Bell

CAN
EMOCRACIES
AND RUSSIA
E TOGETHER?
Max Ascoli

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CHINESE
NDERGROUND
FIGHTERS
Wellington Lee

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16 PAGES
F PICTURES

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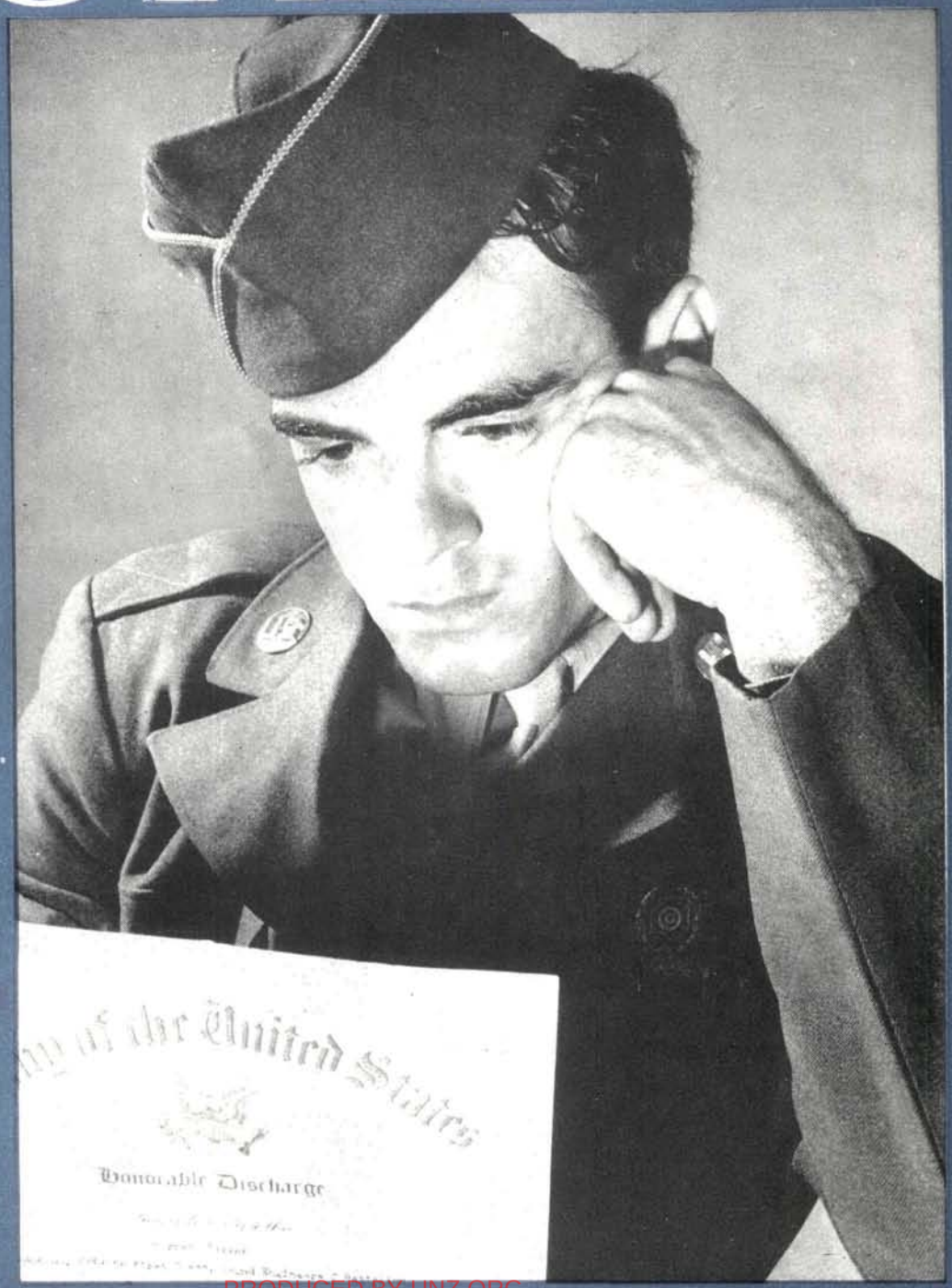

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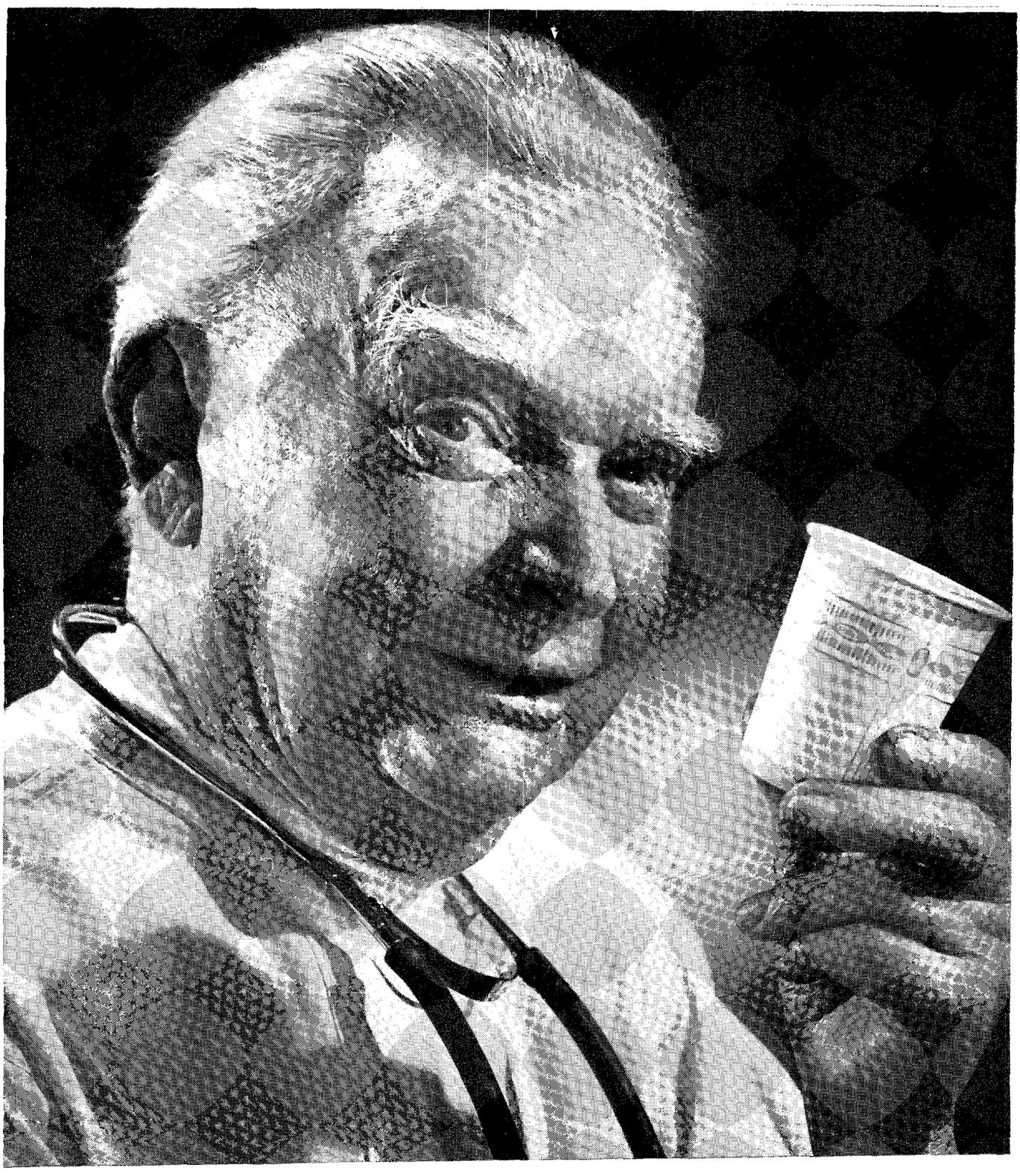

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The State of the World...

FREE WORLD hazards these informed guesses:

1. The Big Three conference will end in unanimous agreement—on the administration of Germany.
2. The new United Nations Organization will have sufficient ratifications by the end of the year to start full-fledged activities.
3. Leopold will be definitely out as King of Belgium.
4. A Spanish Republican Government in Exile will be formed soon, and will immediately be recognized by at least seven governments.
5. A serious economic depression is in the making for South America —unless quick agreements are reached for European markets and United States credits.

Tragic Statistics

A Special Soviet Committee has concluded its report on the notorious concentration camp at Oswiecim. The report fills a whole page the size of the *New York Times* and contains some of the most horrible statistics of this war. Here is one of the charts on the functioning of the five cremating furnaces:

Furnace Number	Time of Functioning (Months)	Monthly Capacity of Bodies to be Burned	Capacity for Total Duration of Functioning Per Furnace
1	24	9,000	216,000
2	19	90,000	1,710,000
3	18	90,000	1,620,000
4	17	45,000	765,000
5	18	45,000	810,000
		279,000	5,121,000

The Soviet Commission estimates that by taking into account the margin of error, breakdowns in functioning and other stoppages, the total number is reduced to 4,000,000 people burned in that camp. Citizens of Russia, Poland, France, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Hungary, Belgium, Bulgaria, Netherlands and other countries were the victims. Can anyone still think of a soft policy toward fascism in the presence of these figures?

State Department in the Making

Secretary of State James F. Byrnes spent his first official hour in office conferring with his old friend Assistant Secretary Will Clayton about Departmental problems. Clayton is said to have emphasized the necessity of a reorganization that would produce real integration of the economic with the political functions of the Department. At the present time these two staffs are still separate, have frequent personal quarrels. Three of Clayton's top men recently quit because they were tired of being kicked around and snubbed by the career men on the political side. Clayton will insist that Secretary Byrnes straighten out this major question personally. For the interim of the Potsdam conference he has brought in a respected progressive economist, Willard Thorpe, to direct economic policy.

Clayton is known to be critical of Nelson Rockefeller for using the facts of our economic position to achieve certain political ends with the Latin American nations instead of treating the two phases of our foreign relations as a single unit. Career man Norman Armour is being mentioned as probable successor to Rockefeller on Latin American affairs.

The old line diplomats will be seeing a lot of two New Dealers that Secretary

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Byrnes is bringing into the Department with him—Benjamin V. Cohen, a wise, mature lawyer; and James Doyle, an energetic young legal assistant. Byrnes will use them as trouble shooters at first. It is expected that Cohen will finally land either in the post of legal adviser now held by elderly Green Hackworth, who is too bound by tradition, or of counsellor to the Department, a job which has remained open since the death of Hull's adviser Walton Moore several years ago.

☆

Special Assistant Secretary

The State Department reorganization plan is likely to include a new Assistant Secretary for International Organization and Conferences. Former Secretary Edward Stettinius is said to want Leo Pasvolsky, the present Special Assistant assigned to those matters.

☆

Nehru After the Simla Conference

The Simla Conference has broken down in the most ridiculous way. British proposals, transmitted through General Wavell to the Indian people (whether it was an election maneuver or not) seemed to receive a better reception than any submitted previously. The Indian people and their political organizations realized that the period of this war was passing without having brought them freedom. They wanted to accept the offer and get the minimum in the form of an all-Indian Government, except for the Defense Ministry. Then the tragi-comedy started which must have caused many smiles in Mr. Amery's Colonial Office.

Jinnah, the President of the Moslem League, objected to the right of the Pan-Hindu Congress to propose Moslems for Cabinet positions and the Hindus objected to his veto. Faced with the breakdown of negotiations, Lord Wavell displayed either a sublime humility or the supreme art of irony in his admission that he alone was responsible for the failure. We believe the first was true —that he really felt unhappy at the failure of a plan for which he had worked hard.

Now there remains only one solution and that is to let a democratic majority form the Government—of course, with all guarantees of protection for life, property and equal rights of minorities.

There is even a splendid leader at hand. The stature of Jawaharlal Nehru increases constantly. His last political statements prove he has grown to political maturity during his stay in prison.

☆

Indian Princes' Magnanimity

Hurrah, progress is on the march! We have received an enlightening document from the Director of Public Relations, Chamber of Princes, New Delhi, India. It is a statement on agricultural progress in the Indian states. This statement of "progress" covers 140 states and it is summed up in two printed pages. A characteristic statement in the report is the following:

"In the unfortunate event of a famine in a state, the Ruler has always shown great magnanimity in the reduction and remission of land revenue."

Then the report goes on to show how in Jaipur and in other states one-sixth or less of the taxes due to Princes were remitted in the case of starving populations.

The whole thing illustrates once again that feudalism is not dead. FREE WORLD believes that the Economic and Social Council —Princes or no Princes, domestic affairs or no domestic affairs—should intervene at once and replace the crumbs thrown to the population by a modern system of economic organization.

☆

UNRRA and the Balkans

Another storm is brewing inside the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration over supplies for the Balkans, Yugoslavia in particular. The Russian chief of the UNRRA mission in Yugoslavia has made strong protest to the Director General because the key ports of Trieste, Susak, and Bakar are still out of use, through refusal of the Mediterranean Control Commission to clear them of mines. All tonnage must go in through Dubrovnic and Split where dock facilities are inadequate. UNRRA in Yugoslavia cannot get needed trucks for distributing

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supplies, nor gasoline enough for the trucks it already has, although British-controlled Greece is getting so much gas that the government has asked for additional storage tanks in which to put it. UNRRA in Greece still has trouble getting enough gas for its distribution needs, too, for priority is being given to the home guard and the local gendarmerie to encourage fast rebuilding of these forces.

☆

Latest Nazi Slogan

So anxious are they to renege Hitler, this is the way they are doing it, according to a report we have received. They write at night on the walls of German houses, "Adolph Hitler is a Jew."

☆

The Curse of Visas

Despite San Francisco and all the big talks about the United Nations world, consular procedures of most of the Allied countries are still inspired by prewar and war regulations. For any visa, a consular official first asks you to fill in innumerable questionnaires, then must report to his capital before granting it. This applies even to transit visas. In most cases the respective foreign offices know much less about the petitioner than the consular officer who is on the spot and better able to formulate an opinion.

It is time to abandon all this unnecessary bureaucratic red tape which only sows distrust among the United Nations. The passport of a United Nations Government should be sufficient guarantee for any one who is visiting another United Nations country.

☆

France Debates Future

When the Cabinet members left De Gaulle on July 9, their faces were earnest and they announced that an important decision would be forthcoming in the evening. The decision was in fact important. It concerned a general referendum to be held on October 14, in which the people of France would elect their representatives and also decide whether in the future France shall be governed by the old Constitution of 1875, or have a new one. But there was one hitch in the decision. It provided that if the referendum should decide for a new Constitution, then the elected Assembly should have the power to write it, to elect a President of the French Government, but not to exercise parliamentary control over the Government during a seven-months' period. After that period France was to have new elections in such a parliamentary régime as approved by the people.

The Provisional Government, before putting this law into effect, sought the advice of the Consultative Assembly whose special committee has rejected unanimously the Government's proposal as the Resistance movement and the trade unions had previously done. The principal reason for rejections is to be found in that seven-months' period of uncontrolled government authority. The debate is continuing but France is showing very healthy signs of maturity in constitutional debates.

☆

International Aviation

U. S. airlines have been severely criticized for their plans to get a head start on other nations in the race for commercial world air routes. The Civil Aeronautics Board has now officially certified three airlines for overseas flights, but officials of these companies can go no further with their plans until they can secure some equipment to fly. The advantageous position of the United States may fade if the Air Transport Command which controls all the transport planes flying overseas today does not cooperate in releasing equipment for the commercial lines. Even with equipment the U. S. lines will be restricted to a very few runs, primarily to Ireland and the United Kingdom, until our Government can negotiate bilateral aviation agreements with France, Italy and especially the Soviet Union.

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Changes in Latin American Setup

The Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs is rapidly sliding downhill.

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Wallace K. Harrison, Rockefeller's close friend, whom he named to succeed him when he was promoted to the State Department, has resigned to return to his architectural business and the office lacks a real head. Many months ago Rockefeller lost his enthusiasm for the important "basic economy" program developed by the Office—a program by which the United States was to cooperate in wartime with Latin American countries in their efforts to set up a basic economy for maximum production. Rockefeller scheduled severe cutbacks in this most practical and popular of our projects in Latin America. This month the basic economy program for Brazil was cut off over the strong protest of the Brazilians and of our Ambassador Adolph Berle. Senators and representatives are pointing out that the total cost of this program for a four-year period would amount to less than the cost of one cruiser. Signs are that a Congressional investigation of this decision is brewing.

☆

A Fatal Pilgrimage

A prominent Iranian told the following story to a train companion between Washington and New York. A subject of the Shah of Iran recently set out for a pilgrimage to the Holy City of Mecca, shrine of Islam. The journey was long and tedious. After many days and many, many miles covered on foot, the faithful follower of the prophet finally reached Mecca. Exhausted by the heat and the strenuous march, the Iranian became ill, and in this place, sacred to Allah, he rendered the little food he had been able to absorb. He was thereupon seized by the guards, brought to trial for sacrilege and sentenced to death.

The intercession of the Iranian Government on his behalf was to no avail and the poor pilgrim was executed.

☆

Lotteries and Bonds in Russia

We were curious to know how the Russians were maintaining the interest of their citizens in one State loan after another. Here is what we found out. Every bond sold by the Government has a number and there are regular drawings in Moscow. Each series has 53 winners of 3,000 rubles, 265 of 1,000 rubles, 5,300 of 500 rubles, 79,500 of 200 rubles and 357,432 of 150 rubles. Thus the State lottery has always 500,000 propagandists among the previous winners.

☆

Argentine Colonels

Here is a nice quote from a secret inspection report of the group of Argentine Colonels who control the present régime. It is dated June 1944. "The example of the fight of Hitler in time of peace as in time of war must be our guide." Why don't the United Nations help the Argentine people to get rid of that pro-Fascist group?

☆

Hospitable Franco

Pierre Laval, arch traitor, is still in Spain and so is the Belgian Leon de Grelle. At the demand of Brussels for extradition, Franco replied: "De Grelle has the right to the asylum which is offered to him." The policy of fascist haven is much more illustrative of Franco's real intentions than all his fake declarations in favor of the Allies. The fact remains that in peace as in war Franco Spain hinders the Allies and helps fascism. But we will come to this problem when Franco seeks asylum, probably somewhere south of us.

☆

A Dream Comes True

Only one small part of the Pan-German dream has become a reality, namely, the one that decisions on the fate of the world would be made in Germany's capital. What Frederick the Great dreamt about—that the eyes of the world would turn toward the Prussian castles for decisions—has come true. The only slight historic difference is that the men in the castle are not exactly those the Germans have dreamt of as representatives of Nordic Aryanism; and also that the men in the castle are presiding over the liquidation of Teutonic dreams.

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State of the World 1
Free Speech 7
Editorial: Symptoms of European Recovery . . . . . Louis Dolivet 10

World Organization

Postscript on San Francisco . . . . . Max Ascoli 13
United Nations Forums:
The Charter—Symbol of Responsibility 18
Implementing the San Francisco Charter 20
Ratification of the Charter 24
The Charter and Power Politics . . . . . Norman Angell 27
Headliners: James F. Byrnes . . . . . Ulric Bell 30
The Economic and Social Council . . . . . Raoul Aglion 34
Picture Section: A Better Future for the World's People 37
(With drawings by Kelen and photographs)

The War Front

Eight Years of Chinese Resistance . . . . . Wellington Lee 53

The Political and Social Fronts

The Japanese Press . . . . . Harry Emerson Wildes 56
American Opinion Poll: Postwar Lend-Lease and Jobs 61
South American Spy Ring's Key Man Freed . . . H. Fernandez Artucio 65
Will Europe Nationalize Industry? . . . . . Tony Sender 68
Sleep in the Afternoon . . . . . Andres Iduarte 72
British Elections: A Political Clap of Thunder . . . . . Mary Seaton 73
Who's Who 75
Books 76

Drawings by DePauw, Dolbin, Kelen, Kraus

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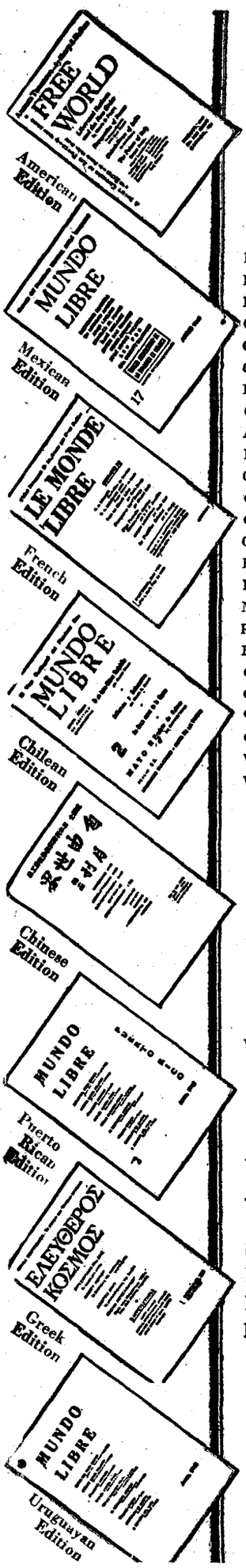

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Free Speech

A Philippine Anti-Japanese Manifesto

Following are the most important features of the preliminary administrative program set up by the anti-Japanese People's Democratic Government of the Philippines:

1. To unite all the anti-Japanese classes and parties under the banner of the National anti-Japanese United Front whose policies are to be based on democracy and progress in order to mobilize all manpower, materials and knowledge to overthrow Japanese domination and their puppetry, and to achieve the national liberation of the Philippines.

2. To create a solid alliance with the United Nations, especially the United States, for coordination of action against the Japanese fascists.

3. To insist on the unity of all anti-Japanese parties, armed forces and civilian organizations, to guarantee their political and organizational independence, and to fight against all retrogressive activities, such as the attempt to split the United Front and the protection of the national traitors.

4. To strengthen all the anti-Japanese armed forces, to incorporate them in the National Army, to guarantee the political and organizational independence of each unit, to guarantee their material supplies, to raise their reserves, to improve their relation with the civilians, to strengthen the organization and training of the local defense forces.

5. To guarantee that the national and local anti-Japanese governments are composed of representatives from all anti-Japanese parties, armed forces and civilian organizations.

6. To develop agricultural production by furnishing the poor peasants with carabaos, implements, fertilizers and seedlings.

7. To keep the capitalists and the workers on amicable terms, to enforce the 8-hour workday, to raise the labor discipline in order to increase the output of production for the war of national liberation, and to improve the living conditions of the workers accordingly.

All puppets, especially die-hard big puppets, must be immediately arrested, disfranchised and tried by people's juries.

9. To establish national education to raise national consciousness and national self-respect as against slave education, to wipe out illiteracy, to improve the living conditions of the school teachers, to publish and increase the circulation of popular books and newspapers, to encourage research work, to respect intellectuals, to give impetus to the study of science and literature, to welcome scientists and artists from abroad, to enforce a daily 2-hour study system for all government officials.

10. To raise the political, economic and cultural level of women to enable them to enjoy equal rights with men in society, and to develop their initiative in the economic sphere; to protect the female workers and pregnant women, to allow only monogamous marriages which are to be contracted by the free will of both parties.

Luzon, Philippines. CHAPLIN LE ROY SETZIOL.

• • •

A GI in Germany on the Russians

As we moved through Germany we liberated thousands of war prisoners and displaced persons, most of whom were Russians. Those who did not witness it can hardly realize the profound gratitude in the hearts of those people toward us and in turn toward America. That feeling was experienced by many an American soldier.

We used to joke about the coming link-up with the Russians, even when we were still hundreds of miles apart. The Reds were moving up to Berlin so fast that every report had them several miles closer. When we went out on patrol we would joke, "Be careful about what you shoot at, we might run into a Russian patrol."

Then as we held the line up on the Elbe in our Berlin Bulge, and watched the Russians take care of Berlin, we felt nothing but admiration, hearty admiration for the boys who were helping us to utterly defeat nazism and to stamp out forever the threat of German aggression.

Simmern, Germany. PFC. ROBERT N. JONES.

• • •

Enlighten through History

It is only through a very thorough education in history that we can do away with this disease called ignorance which blinds most people. For ignorance breeds intolerance. Ignorance breeds fear. Ignorance breeds brutality and bestiality. Now is the time to rid ourselves of this monster which brings such utter devastation to the face of this globe.

It is a special type of ignorance that we will have to combat in order to form and keep a just and durable peace. It is an ignorance of the facts of history, and the cause and effects that historic events may have over a span of years in making the history of the years to come.

Bronx, New York. LEONARD LEVINE.

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Charter Versus League

I wonder if the article by Mr. Fliegers and Mr. Mandellaub, called "The League Is Dead—Long Live the Charter," does not defeat its purpose? In order to promote public support for the Charter, the authors revive the old attacks against the League of Nations. Is this the best approach to our present task?

To say that the League started as "nothing more than a crippled coalition of victorious powers" whereas the Charter "emerges as an international instrument independent of any peace treaty" simply calls attention to a basic similarity between the two, the Charter being exclusively the work of the victors in World War II. Moreover, the League in 1919 invited the twelve most important neutrals to join, which they did immediately, thereby proving that the Covenant was *not* inseparable from the peace treaty.

The article goes on to say: "One interesting innovation . . . is that the employees of the Secretariat . . . assume allegiance not to any particular nation but to the international body." This was precisely the case with the League Secretariat. The authors know it, so they add: "The League attempted to create a certain internationalism of the Secretariat along the above lines, but failed miserably. . . ." I wonder how the former members of the Secretariat will feel on reading this? Most of them, definitely were *not* "mere mouthpieces of their governments." Vernon Bartlett, Henri Bonnet, Comert, Vigier, Mantoux, Zilliacus, Neymann, Tirana, Rajchman, Gilchrist, Arthur Sweetser and many others did not do so badly as "world citizens." As for calling the League Secretariat "an immense and costly cross-reference section," are we so sure that the budget of the new organization will be smaller, or its personnel less numerous? The authors refer to "the numerous committees of the League, set up with high-sounding names and well-paid personnel." These cliches of the old isolationists may turn into boomerangs, if I dare use such a metaphor.

On the illustrated double page, the League Assembly is represented by four gentlemen in top hats and striped pants as contrasting with the new Assembly which features thirty-six human silhouettes, apparently dressed normally. (The artist left out the Arab princess.) Same contrast with the Council. I find this neither objective, nor convincing.

The article says that Article 15 of the Covenant reserved for the League members the right to make war "if both parties to a dispute do not accept the unanimous decision of the Council," whereas the famous loophole in Article 15 refers to the case when the Council fails to reach a decision. Why say that "the League never endeavored to recommend the establishment of full independence for the countries under tutelage," since the class A mandates (Palestine, Syria, Iraq) were explicitly a temporary régime leading to complete independence?

The authors say: "The world, weary of war, will surely not develop any international disputes for at least a few years." The world most probably will. Our hope is that such disputes will be solved peacefully (as the League had done many times) by making use of the Charter and enforcing its procedure, which is what our nations failed to do with the Covenant. Holding the League up to contempt can only result in weakening support for the Charter, since the basic principles and features are the same.

With enormous good intentions, the article concludes: "The men of Geneva, inspired by Wilsonian optimism, entrusted their work to the goodwill of the world. Today, we entrust our hopes for permanent security to the five Great Powers. . . ."

I like the authors' sincere devotion to the Charter. Only methinks I hear the Charter saying gently: "Lord, I can take care of my enemies, just protect me from my friends!"

PIERRE DE LANUX

• • •

Note From the Editor

We were glad to receive Mr. De Lanux's letter. He had great experience in the League until the early thirties and we can understand that he does not wish that an indiscriminating judgment be passed on the activities of the League of Nations. Undoubtedly, until 1931, the League was in an ascending period and was fulfilling many of the hopes which were put into it by the public. But after 1931 the League was constantly on the downgrade. Need we to remember the shameful episodes from the Manchurian aggression to the invasion of Ethiopia, the Fascist intervention in Spain, the "Anschluss" of Austria—up to Munich and after, when for all practical purposes the League was playing into the hands of the aggressors.

We are convinced that the new United Nations Organization has learned the lesson of the past failures and we do hope that all international-minded people of the old League, such as Mr. De Lanux and others he mentions in his letter will be called upon to play an important part in the new organization.

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Comments from Canada

By all means keep up the pictures! That one picture of Molotov and Subasic, standing alone in the midst of conferees on whose faces guilt is plainly written, is worth lots of money.

You will have seen the result of our federal election and the apparent defeat of the progressive forces represented by the CCF. This was due partly to a savage scare-mongering barrage put up by representatives of old line and reactionary parties, and also to the feeling of the public that King was likely to have the largest group, and that it would not be a good thing to have a parliament made up of a number of small political groups. For instance, some 100,000 votes which went to the CCF in the Ontario election on June 7 went to the Liberals on June 11.

A large proportion of the service men and women's votes went to the CCF, and in Prince Albert, defeated the Prime Minister.

Edmonton, Canada. CHARLES HERBERT HUESTIS

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Checkers in Oklahoma

I happen to be convalescing at the moment in an Army hospital. It is a small post, and a small hospital, which no doubt accounts for the fact that there are three Negro soldiers in my ward—nothing else would, for we are in Oklahoma! It is a matter of common observation that these men are among the cleanest in the whole ward, and they are certainly the most cheerful.

They are the first to make their beds in the morning, and the first to sweep and mop around them. The little janitorial tasks assigned to convalescents are performed by them without hesitation or grumbling, and they never disturb other patients by talking after lights go out. I have not yet heard one of them yield to the traditional Army vice of "griping." If they do it, they do it among themselves, and the rest of us are not forced to listen.

I am aware that the behavior of these men may be explained in terms of self defense, that is, on the ground that they realize they are conspicuous by their color, and that the slightest lapse of conduct on their part would provide the occasion for much unfavorable criticism. I prefer to believe it is simply evidence that the Negro, if given half a chance, would prove to his white neighbors what a valuable citizen he really is, and what an important asset he would be to any community sufficiently intelligent to give him that opportunity.

It is interesting to observe that, in the face of this exemplary behavior of the Negro patients, their willingness to perform any necessary tasks and their invariably cheerful manner, the barriers in my ward are gradually but very perceptibly being lowered.

These three patients need no longer depend exclusively upon each other for their company now. Their rich sense of humor, entirely lacking in malice, is appreciated by everyone in the ward, and they are beginning to take part in the various games we occasionally play for pastime. One of them has found a white friend who will play checkers with no one else. It seems the two are perfectly suited at this game; first one will win, then the other. They play thus together for hours, and it is a pleasure to watch them. The white boy, incidentally, is an Alabaman.

This experience suggests emphatically, to my mind, that there is no real reason why exactly the same phenomenon should not occur on a larger scale, if only society could be persuaded to make the initial effort of providing the Negro everywhere with equal opportunities.

Surely this effort is justified, surely it is demanded by the conscience of a nation whose watchword has forever been, officially, "Liberty and justice *for all.*" We cannot endure for those words to assume greater ironic significance than they possess at present. Already other nations, Allied ones at that, have reproached us with our inconsistencies in this. In the meantime, we may well consider how we shall explain to our Negro soldiers the paradox by which they are inducted to fight against racial intolerance in Europe, but are forced to become its victim in—well—Oklahoma.

Oklahoma. OLIVER W. EVANS

COSMIC DUST

I long to find some quiet place to live
Alone with God, the world that gave me birth;
But by myself I'm Godless, cannot give
An answer to the conscience of the Earth.
And so I must ignore the beckoning sight
That lures me to forget a newer Earth,
That men who died, here, *must* have died for right,
And men who lived here, must not lose their worth.
So not alone, though sorely needing rest,
But with the world, my comrades at my side—
Of common earth the world throughout—we must
Create a life that answers to this test:
That all men good enough to be of cosmic dust,
Are good enough to live with cosmic pride.

Lt. Leon R. Primoff, USMCR.

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Replies to This Month's Poll

I believe that if our Government keeps on sending lend-lease materials to friendly countries for about three years after the war, it will result in more jobs for Americans.

By producing a more universally prosperous and contented world, frictions will be reduced; gradual progress in all lives will be promoted. In such a world we, with all peoples, will prosper widely.

Des Moines, Iowa. H. H. GRIFFITH

• • •

Continuance of lend-lease will make fewer jobs for Americans. Industry, of course, will bear the tax burden and therefore won't be able to accumulate capital to invest in production equipment which is necessary for jobs. The more money invested in factories, the more jobs and higher rates of pay.

Woodhaven, New York FRANK J. LACLAVE

• • •

Lend-lease is the buying of the products of American industries and agriculture, by the United States Government, with borrowed money, and the giving of those products to needy countries abroad.

Of course, it creates more jobs. And, of course, it leaves us that much more in debt. But I still believe it to be a wise and necessary policy.

New York City. GERALD GERALDSON

• • •

If we continue lend-lease it will mean more jobs for Americans. There is an abundance of everything in the world. Distribution and wider distribution is the answer.

Washington, D. C. GRACE G. PURSE

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EDITORIAL

Symptoms of European Recovery

THE reader will forgive us if instead of opening this editorial with a discussion of the Big Three Conference and other current international events, we start out with a report of the Bastille Day celebration, organized by France Forever, on July 14 in New York. During that celebration four people, two men and two women from the French Resistance, gave an account so powerful, so moving and so illuminating on the state of mind of a great part of Europe that it seemed to us an essential piece of information on the background of international political currents. The most important speech was made by Monsieur Christian Pineau, Minister of Food Supply in the Provisional French Government. He started out by reminding his listeners that last year he celebrated July 14 in the concentration camp of Buchenwald. For days and days before the Fourteenth the inmates of the camp, representing twenty-two nationalities, Belgians, Dutch, Russians, Poles, Czechs—Jews, Protestants and Catholics—were preparing to help their French comrades celebrate the great anniversary of French democracy. In spite of hunger, one inmate saved a potato, another a bit of flour, in order to prepare the unique celebration. For days before July 14 everyone was particularly willing to fulfill all the orders of the Gestapo guards, doing his best not to provoke any kind of individual or collective punishment so as not to "spoil" the great day. When finally the day came, after long hours of slave labor, and after a trying period of two hours of roll call many of them slipped silently into the French quarters. The potatoes were cooked over a small flame whose smoke was hidden by all. And then they sang, in the lowest voices possible, the Marseillaise and the folk songs and hymns of the other nations.

Now, one year later, in the luxurious Wedgwood room of the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, in the presence of a few hundred Americans and Frenchmen, Monsieur Christian Pineau was examining the lessons of his captivity and was expressing the aspirations of those twenty per cent who have survived among the political deportees. The greatest lesson, said the speaker, is one of both national and international solidarity. In the camp, the feeling of interdependence was great. No one was abandoned by his fellows and everything was shared. When the few packages arrived from the Red Cross or from families, they were immediately shared by all, because "faced with the constant presence of death, we had learned all the lessons of humanity." The only way to survive intellectually, spiritually and morally, for those inmates, was to be clean in the midst of

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dirt, to be human in the midst of cruelty, to be full of dignity in a place where there was none.

The conditions in the camp, said Monsieur Pineau, cannot be adequately described by any one of the survivors because every description would still fall far short of the truth. When cruelty and lack of respect for human beings becomes a supreme rule, then intelligence disappears and everything drops to the animal level. The only way to resist it was to exchange ideas, to cling, in the few moments when it was possible, to a paragraph of a great book or of a poem which they somehow managed to get in. Sometimes the moral lifesaver was to help a fellow prisoner who was badly beaten or breaking down physically; sometimes it was reading Paul Valery's poems.

As to political aspirations, the speaker wanted to build a world in which that sense of human solidarity, which they had in camp, will forever become indestructible. The only way to wipe out the memory of the horrors of nazidom, the only way to fill the gaps in the ranks of humanity, is to build constructively, to build a democratic national and an international society in which fascism or similar ideas could never come back.

He concluded with interesting remarks on the relationship people like himself feel to America, Russia and England. Friendship with America and the other Allies cannot be destroyed because "I will never forget the first American tank that drove through the barbed wires of our camp."

Another speaker was blonde Colette Dubuisson, school teacher from Bordeaux, in whose face is written a courage born of constant acquaintance with danger and death. She talked a similar language. The Resistance, she said, has brought the different sectors of French public opinion nearer than ever before. All have learned to recognize the immense values of the little people, the inborn genius, capacity and talent of the common men. From the Resistance they came out individually as better human beings. Hatred of the fascists and collaborationists to them is a measure of justice, but even more a measure of defense against fascism in the future. They are people who do not want extraordinary things; they do not dream of personal power. They just want a country and a world in which everyone lives in decent conditions of peace and of freedom.

The same spirit was manifested by another young Frenchwoman, Catherine Noufflard, who was on the Paris Regional Staff of the French Forces of the Interior and who is now a Lieutenant in the French WACS. She is proud that her unit has been incorporated in an American Army Corps. She thinks that the Allies must stick together during happy and unhappy days. Together they must free the world from fascism and together they must rebuild.

A note of warning was sounded by Major Marcel Maillard. He declared that "national socialism is not a temporary disease of Ger-

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many." Major Maillard is one who should know. Twice he was slated to die at the hands of the nazis and twice he escaped and was saved by the Allies. The personal story of Major Maillard is just one of thousands of incredible dramas which have taken place all over Europe and which are more exciting than the best mystery story. He was a police major and he used his radio car in order to transmit information on German troop movements to the Allies. Finally, one day they caught up with him. From that moment his life was not worth a nickel. He still is incredulous that he should be alive, and able to attend a victory celebration in a free country on a day when France too is again completely free.

These four people were modest and friendly and had about them a human quality which is most reassuring for the future of Europe. From a political point of view, despite the fact that they refused to talk specifically about the politics of any given party, they all are progressive, liberal-minded and very deeply attached to world cooperation. They have none of the cynicism one encounters with people who have never lived under fascism. They are not dogmatic, they try to understand the American, Russian and British point of view. They believe that the Allies have so much in common that there should be no difficulty in solving problems together. The most immediate worry to all of them, of course, is the grave food situation of France and Europe. They did not "ask or request" help. Very humbly and simply they hoped that countries which are in a more fortunate situation would help them recuperate their strength. They all recognized that America too has difficult problems; that total mobilization for war and the remaining costly struggle against Japan have put a terrible burden on the country. They do not want philanthropy because their first and major aim is to get their own national economy going, to replant fields, to rebuild houses, to re-establish communications and to organize a world in which there will be mutual help, trade and interchange.

This state of mind is in absolute contradiction with many reports coming from Europe not only of economic disorders due to the disruptions of war, but also of political chaos. The picture presented by these visiting members of the Resistance is one of great political maturity and moral elevation. Once again we have a proof that the democratic revolution is still on the march. Undoubtedly, the Big Three who are meeting in the very heart of the European continent are aware of that state of mind and will do the maximum to continue an Allied unity which is so much hoped for by the peoples of the world.

The Big Three must constantly seek inspiration in this tremendous popular trend. In doing so they will discover that never before have the chances been better for integrating a wartorn and chastened Europe, which is showing rapid symptoms of recovery, into an effective system of world organization.

LOUIS DOLIVET

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Postscript on San Francisco

Yes, — this was a Peace Conference after all. For unless the United Nations could learn to work unitedly, unless they could create peace among themselves that superseded every conflict, they had small hope of imposing any sort of program of peace upon the world.

By MAX ASCOLI

NOW it can be told. There was a fact that lest the Conference be endangered it was better not to talk about, and it could best be kept secret by managing not to think of it.

It was the fact that actually San Francisco was a peace conference. It was a peace conference of an extraordinarily peculiar and unprecedented nature because this war and fascism were peculiar and unprecedented things. We did not lie, when we said, echoing the public relations men of the State Department, that we could only expect from San Francisco the preliminary procedural rules of the peace to come. But we did not want to think, it was better not to say it, that because the Allies could not end the European war by making peace with the enemy they had to start immediately making peace among themselves. The two enemies that had been locked in war, the Allies and fascism, could never be united in any peace. This war could be ended only by making impossible the next one.

Now this can be told because inter-Allied peace has survived the ordeal of San Francisco. It has now all the makings of a strong well-proportioned peace. Tools, institutions and relationships have been created that are going to guarantee its growth. The process of peace making has reached the turning point and is now beyond it. There is going to be inter-Allied peace.

The inter-Allied peacemaking process has been going on all throughout this war because our leaders always knew that we could giv no peace to the enemy. There were men who thought of this war as an ordinary war, and made their underhanded petty attempts at peace with some of the fascist enemies. So we had our Vichy and Darlan and House of Savoy episodes, the various tentative deals with some mellower de-Hitlerized fascists. But all those attempts were doomed to fail because fascism, every particle of it, is an enemy with whom we can have no peace. "Unconditional surrender" was never a name for a policy. It was the acknowledgment of a fact. It never was a "must" that our leaders wanted to impose on us and on our enemy. It was always a reality that our leaders accurately foresaw and for which they tried to be prepared.

Appeasement, before and during the war, was the policy of those who tried to establish a phony peace because they utterly ignored the nature of fascism and of this war. The process of real peacemaking that went on all throughout the war was from the beginning inter-Allied in scope and functional in character. It was typified by such conferences as Bretton Woods, Atlantic City, Warm Springs, Montreal. It dealt with very concrete needs equally urgent to all the Allied nations and it tried to satisfy these needs by creating organs destined to outlive Hitler and the war.

At San Francisco the effort had to be made to shift the peacemaking process from the functional and technical to the political and legal level. To become the basis of peacetime cooperation the wartime alliance had to go through this ordeal. But

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the trouble with the political level of discussion is that it exposes the conflicts of interests to the infection of ideological intolerance. It is much easier to reach an agreement about food than about sovereignty. The hydra of sovereignty can scarcely be beaten back by frontal attack.

When we attempt to translate a condition of fact into a condition of law, we do not do this for the fun of dressing up with legal paraphernalia the hard reality of power. We size up facts and dress them up with legal paraphernalia when we want to predict and control their course. When we legislate, we try to predict and control the unborn events. At San Francisco the attempt was made to predict and control events to be born in the community of nations at the very moment when victory itself was depriving the community of nations of its strongest integrating power.

YET, it has been done. We read the Charter and we see all combined as in a final pattern of a puzzle the various pieces that at first looked like hopelessly twisted and tangled fragments. As long as in the Security Council there are statesmen with eyes keen enough to see what goes on in the world, the provision for the Regional Agreements cannot be as bad as we feared. The Economic and Social Council may become incomparably better and healthier than anything we could ever dare hope. All the various functional structures designed to take care of separate concrete things such as currency, labor, food, can now become part of an inter-related whole, like scattered buildings in the master plan of a city. Between the definition of trusteeship that was first proposed and the final text, there is the same difference that exists between naked power and compensated power—power ballasted by responsibility.

All this, of course, must be said on a key of "ifs" and "mays" and "coulds" with a counterpoint of constant knocks on wood. One should not need to remind readers that a legal document is about as good as the men who are going to use it; that this is just a beginning, a first sample and not the final product. Yet, there are two decisive facts about this Charter that can be pointed out with uncrossed fingers:

The first is that this Charter speaks our language, the language of the great democracies of the West.

The second is that within this legal, political and economic framework, the competition between the democracies and Soviet Russia can turn into a real force for peace.

THIS Charter speaks our language.

It talks of "We, the people", of the individual person, of full employment. With it, a world that is in many parts undemocratic, adopts some of the institutions of democracy to regulate the relationships among its various parts.

This does not mean that the over-all organization of the world or of its various parts are established on universal democratic principles. But it does mean that the structure of inter-Allied peace, in order to become intelligible to all men and be taken at heart by them, had to accept the style and the perspectives of democracy. In this blueprint of peace, the main lines are firmly drawn according to the real relationship among powers. The shading and the background are according to democratic patterns.

This gives claims to the democratic forces all over the world. Actually, this Charter does not establish individual rights on a universal or a regional basis. But it gives to the democratic forces the right to the establishment of rights. It also gives them multiple responsibilities, because it makes quite clear to them that democracy starts at home and that home policies have an influence on the rest of the world.

No matter what the mode of production may be, capitalistic or socialistic, the time of production for its own sake is over. I would say that the "for its own sake" era is over, whether it is production, national expansion, or enjoyment of single rights. It is doubtful whether one of the most essential of all rights, that of a free press, can be usefully enjoyed at an international conference just for the fun of asking Molotov how to pronounce vodka.

On all sides, this Charter binds the use of power and the enjoyment of rights with multiple and concrete responsibilities. The range of internal dissension in any given country is going to be considerably limited if the International Organization works at

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all. Already foreign affairs have stopped being an object of partisan debate in the United States and England and practically everywhere. Foreign affairs tend, so to speak, to go out of politics. The International Organization is bound to accentuate this trend, and to limit the stakes of political competition inside the nations.

On the other hand, basic fundamental human needs, a minimum of food, a minimum of security, a minimum of decency, have established themselves with world-wide relevance, regardless of frontiers, ideologies or races. During the war, these needs began to be satisfied by inter-Allied organs, irrespective of what the particular system for the satisfaction of these needs may be, capitalistic or communistic.

This Charter brings within the realm of concrete possibilities the establishment of a ceiling to political adventures and of a floor to economic insecurity.

"We, the people", this poor human stuff, that has had such a beating from fascism and from war, wants to reach this goal and to make of this possibility an established fact. Perhaps some of the delegates accepted the "We, the people" preamble with their tongue in their cheeks. They were afraid of the "We, the people" back home whom they were supposed to represent, or perhaps they thought that all this was merely words. If they thought so, they were not very wise.

If an international common denominator had to be reached among different national orders, it could be only in terms of people and popular demand. There are many shades of democracy and authoritarianism in the world, yet their peaceful coexistence can be organized only in terms of democracy. This compact that speaks the language of democracy creates conditions where the democrats, the men who believe in democracy, can re-orient their principles and define their attainable aims.

BUT the fundamental of all fundamentals is that all this demands the cooperation between Soviet Russia and the Western democracies. Until the last, Hitler counted on their conflict. Even when his end came he must have thought that it would precipitate a conflict that he, by attacking both, had merely suspended.

Hitler had reasons for thinking so. Because he, himself, and all he stood for, all his fascism and all the infinite evil that fascism brought into the world, all had been a product of the conflict between Communist Russia and Western democracy. The conflict, born out of the last war, pre-dated Hitler and created Hitler. It was a conflict of two great fears, and between the two, fascism thrived.

The origin of fascism has been the same in every country that succumbed to that blight. In each country there was a paralyzing deadlock between a democratic order that could no longer rule and a communist or socialist order that could not come into existence. Because of that deadlock, the desperadoes of the last war, the criminals who knew how to thrive on fear, had a chance to get hold of power and to impose themselves as saviors of their own nations. They offered to their countrymen an escape from the deadlock, and even pretended to create a new order that seemed to combine some of the most striking features of democracy and communism: omnipotent state, mass movement and private capitalism.

It is not enough to say that fascism is the common enemy of communism and of democracy, of Soviet Russia and of the Western powers. Indeed this is a very misleading thing to say, because when fascism disappears, the world may fall back to the point where it was when fascism started. What must be said with all the force of persuasion that we have at our command is that the incompatibility between democracy and communism generates fascism. The capacity for creating fascism is equally divided between Russia and the Western Allies.

On the other hand, there is no use pretending that this conflict does not exist. It cannot be brought under control by so stretching the meaning of democracy as to call the Russian state democratic or by urging on the democratic nations the adoption of state capitalism. The conflict comes from two entirely different interpretations of the mechanical modes of production. This conflict stems from fundamentally different experiences with rights and freedoms. It came into existence and it threatened to destroy civilization everywhere, be-

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cause civilization had developed in a somewhat ingrown fashion, incapable of re-examining its fundamental postulates as the industrial revolution imperiously demanded.

At the present time, as after the last war, communism considers the institutions of freedom as tools to be used and then scrapped. Democracy considers such institutions as goals in themselves, to be maintained for their own sake, unquestionable and unchallengeable. Machiavellian communism, fundamentalistic democracy are equal potential threats to the peace of the world. Both of them do their damage from within the existing constitutional structure of the democratic nations, one by systematic boring, the other by withering the ideals and the institutions of political freedom.

IN our days, in spite of the enormously increased power of Russia, it is clearer than it was at the end of the last war that communism cannot organize every country in the world. Against it stand all the traditions and interests on which the great countries of the West are founded, what is called our individualism: the need of emerging from our work and of being left alone at least for a while to do our own reckoning, our habit of facing choices and gambling and trying several things at the same time so as to see which one works. On these traditions and habits, England and America have grown.

Our democratic capitalistic, liberal mode of political organization cannot organize every country in the world either. Industrialism has come from the West but it has also outrun the West because it can be adopted by nations that have not grown in the traditions of the West. Where there is no tradition of political freedom, we can hardly expect to have the upsurge of industrialism softened by democratic self-government.

The communists interpret this deadlock in terms of revolutionary schedule and political strategy. They certainly were wrong in their political timetable when fascism first appeared. For the democrats the job is much harder because they have the privilege of independent thinking and the fitness for recognizing how different forms of political and social organization can peacefully co-exist in the world.

The fundamental fact that democrats must acknowledge and explain, both in their interests and in the interests of their communist opponents, is that neither regime can be extended to the whole world. When their conflict is allowed to become uncontrolled strife, it brings about some form of fascism destructive of both.

Today the world, as a whole, could plunge into the condition in which Italy and Germany found themselves after the last war. Like those two countries at that time, it is disjointed, uprooted and swept by fears. But we have the advantage of knowing what came out of the deadlock in Italy and Germany.

Because of our wartime cooperation with Soviet Russia, we also know that the two orders are part of the same process and of th same experience. Just as in our capitalistic nations we have publicly owned utilities that offer yardsticks for the cost and quality of privately produced goods, so we have in the community of nations these two different ways of measuring costs and bringing about results.

It is up to the democrats to find the various levels on which the conflict can turn into beneficial competition. There are three such levels, and the setting for two of them has been mapped out at San Francisco. The first is international and political, the second international and functional. The first came to be called Assembly and Security Council, the second Economic and Social Council. One is meant to establish a ceiling over political adventure, the other a floor under economic insecurity.

The work on the third level has to do with the checking and revision of our basic democratic ideas and institutions. For too long democracy, as a form of progressive political organization, has had no competition. For too long—since the beginning of the Reformation—we have forgotten that there can be two entirely different modes of human organization, living side by side, each one standing its ground, each one frustrated in its attempt of encompassing the whole world. In politics as well as in philosophy, we have been oscillating between the madness of egotism and the pro-

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miscuous sloppiness of pluralism. It will not do us any harm to learn again how to move between sharply defined alternatives.

THE resetting of tools for political thought and political action is strictly a job for democrats. In the building of the new world, the democrats have the privilege of carrying most of the load, just as democratic patterns have the privilege of furnishing the setting in which the San Francisco organization can work.

The communist competition may prove to be the greatest blessing that the democrats could ever hope for. This also means that it is up to them to prevent communism from sweeping over the world, and to keep it operating within the framework of democratic settings.

One of such settings, and the most important of all, is the International Organization. It is by no means the only one. Every liberated country in Europe and in the world is going to reflect, with a large series of local variations, the same conflict and balance of forces that marks the life of the International Organization. The fact that most of these various settings are organized according to the rules of democracy does not mean that within each one of them the democratic forces are going to win. Rather, each one is the test of these democratic forces.

The number of political battlegrounds between democracy and communism has become almost countless. This is good and a condition for peace. The conflict between Russia and the Allies, between communism and democracy, breaks up into a large number of concretely defined political encounters. From the joint administration of Berlin, the Allied occupation of Germany, the internal political battlegrounds in each liberated nation, to the Committees and United Nations bodies in which the worldwide organization is going to be articulated—in all these various settings, we are going to have frictions, misgivings, meetings of minds and give and take.

Communism and democracy, Soviet Russia and Western powers are no longer facing one another in the terrifying aloofness of irreconcilable antagonism, but measuring and testing each other in countless zones of joint operation.

The opening up of these zones of operation is a result of inter-Allied peace and the San Francisco set-up. There is no scarcity of political reconstruction work for those who want to work. Those, on the contrary, who prefer the empty universality of ideological conflicts can certainly help themselves and go on arguing about the comparative merits or faults of communism or of democracy and their approaching inevitable conflict. More serious people are going to be concerned with full employment, the reorganization of some pattern of political life in the war-ravaged countries, and the expansion of the international functional organs having to deal with essential human wants. The test of communism and democracy will not be in their armed conflicts but in what communists and democrats will do, in all these concrete fields of operation.

Now the moment seems to have come for knocking on wood again and concluding on the "if" key. The most usual "if" is: "if leaders all over the world, and particularly our own American leaders were wise or good enough."

It is not fair to put such a responsibility on our leaders no matter how good. The responsibility for the success of what has been started at San Francisco lies with every single man and woman. None is so humble as not to have his share.

For instance, we can be sure that we do not help the organization of peace when we are made jittery and hopeless by a major or a minor discrepancy of interests with our Russian Allies. We escape our own responsibilities every time we let the thought of irrepressible conflicts get hold of us.

We have the right to ask for the best possible leadership but we cannot rely on leadership alone to get the job done. Incidentally, the San Francisco Charter came out in spite of the fact that great leadership was singularly lacking in the American as in every other delegation. Yet, all these delegates, most of whom had rather doubtful titles of representation, have had, according to circumstances, the faith or the daring to start their Charter with the words "We, the people".

"We, the people" must now go on from here.

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United Nations Forums

These forum discussions are presented every Sunday from coast to coast by the American Broadcasting Company (Blue) in cooperation with the International Free World Association and Americans United for World Organization.

The broadcasts began during the San Francisco Conference and those emanating from that city were published in the July issue of FREE WORLD, giving the views on the Charter of some of the most eminent statesmen and writers in the world. The forums are now being continued from Washington, D. C. or New York City. They bring to the microphone U. S. senators and representatives, writers and foreign diplomats who are today devoting their wholehearted interest and attention to the ratification and instrumentation of the Charter.

Tune in every Sunday. Form a listener group of your friends and let the program touch off a frank discussion of your own. Your thinking can help mold the world.

The Charter—Symbol of Responsibility

BLAIR BOLLES
Director of Foreign Policy Association

ROBERT HALE
Representative, Maine

EMILY TAFT DOUGLAS
Representative, Illinois

J. LEROY JOHNSON
Representative, California

HUGH B. MITCHELL
Senator, Washington

Blair Bolles—The United States stands today on the threshold of a new era. In the past, before the war, we in this country held ourselves aloof from the affairs of other countries. Now we are about to decide whether to accept responsibility for helping keep the peace in every quarter of the globe. The symbol of this responsibility is the Charter of the United Nations Organization. Senator Mitchell, now that you have seen the United Nations Charter what do you think of it? Will it work? Will it keep the United States at peace in the future?

Hugh B. Mitchell—I think the Charter very definitely can and will serve to keep the United States and other nations safer than before from another world war. With the drafting of the Charter we have moved ahead. It was a real step and a real advance from the start made at Dumbarton Oaks. As we have moved forward, we must now continue to advance. We have taken in the Charter a second, surer step after the faltering first one. As unity had to be worked out and developed at San Francisco, so it will have to be worked out now and developed within the framework of the Charter. The Charter is but a framework which was made more strong by the application of international understanding, tolerance and good-will. For the first time it seems to me, economic and social problems are recognized as having equal importance with the political and diplomatic.

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Bolles—Representative Hale, you have heard the Senator. I do not know whether you agree with him or not. Tell me, now that you have seen the United Nations Charter, what do you think of it? Will it work? Will it keep the United States at peace in the future?

Robert Hale—I think I pretty much agree with the Senator. The Charter is a most important document, without any doubt. Personally, I would have been willing to subscribe to something even more far-reaching, something more ambitious than the Charter of San Francisco, something that made specific provisions for the application of force and which had some control over the manufacture of munitions. Nevertheless, I do think the Charter can work and that it can contribute very materially to keep us and everybody else out of war in the future.

Bolles — Representative Johnson, we seem to be on the unanimity track here. What do you think about the Charter? Will it work in your estimation? Will it keep the United States at peace in the future?

J. Leroy Johnson—I think the adoption of the Charter will be a step forward, but as to whether it will work, time only will tell. There are many fine, high-sounding phrases in the Charter. Now, under the shadow of a great war, we are all hopeful that it will work out as we anticipate. There have been many other similar charters drawn up in the past and we could look forward to having preventatives for war by the operation of the provisions of these charters. None of these to date have worked. Our country has been part of them. I do hope and believe that the only way we can look forward to a world of peace is to adopt a charter of this kind and then pitch in and look after the administration of it. In the affairs that come after the war, when there will be trials and tribulations in all countries, we must invoke that Charter and compel obedience to it as far as we can.

In my opinion the enforcement provisions of this Charter are very weak and you know and everybody knows that a law is only as good as its enforceability. Without proper enforcement of provisions, without substantial agreement of public opinion behind the provisions of this Charter, it won't work. But I am hoping that this will serve as a nucleus for the development of world public opinion that will look forward to the enforcement of this Charter, until the hopes that we are anticipating today shall be realized.

Bolles — Now let us get the woman's point of view from the House of Representatives. Mrs. Douglas, do you think that the Charter as it is written today will work? Will it keep these United States at peace in the future or does it need a great deal of change?

Emily Taft Douglas—To expect a mechanism to keep the peace would be like expecting a supply of B-29's to win the war. They will be needed to win the war. But the human equation still is of first importance, the brains behind them, the teamwork and the zeal to succeed. There are some dangers in our over-emphasizing the achievements at San Francisco, which I think very great. I hope it will be a landmark and turning point in history. But we have to remember it is the only machinery on which to build. The incomparable advantage which the United Nations Organization will have this time as compared with all previous attempts at organization for world peace will be that all great powers will be inside the organization at the start. Last time the United States and Russia were outside looking in. Now the great powers are within and apparently have the will to make this machinery work. That is a real beginning.

Bolles—Mrs. Douglas, what part of the Charter do you consider the most important in the long-run view?

Mrs. Douglas—The basic need for any world organization is that ability to keep the peace and security which the Security Council will provide. There is a new element which has been introduced into the Charter and which is now elevated to one of the major organs. That is the Economic and Social Council, which I think may well have unlimited potentialities. In fact, as the work of this organization develops, it may well be that the policeman job of the Security Council can decrease. The Economic and Social Council will be a clearing house for specialized agencies dealing with economic, cultural, social,

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health and related fields. It will be the machinery for reducing the causes of war, raising economic standards and introducing new educational processes. I believe this may develop into tremendous importance and reduce the mere policeman task of the rest of the organization.

Bolles – Representative Hale, what is your opinion of the trusteeship provisions?

Hale—I think that the trusteeship provisions of the Charter are desirable and offer a solution to some problems. But it will be a mistake to think they automatically will solve all problems. Under Article 77 of the Charter the trusteeship system shall apply in the first place to territories held under mandate, and in the second place to territories detached from the enemy states, that is, captured from Germany and Japan and Italy. It will be a matter for separate agreement as to which territories in the foregoing categories will be placed under the trusteeship system and upon what terms.

Bolles—It should generally be admitted that the mandate system was not a success. We know that the territories which were mandated to Japan were not only treated as Japan's colonies but were used as tools for Japanese conquest.

Johnson – I believe this part of the Charter is very important because of the provisions that the people in such territories are going to be given training in self-government. My opinion is that we have to follow the pattern set down by the United States in the Philippines. We took them over in 1900 and in forty-five years we trained the people educationally and by giving them governmental practice, so that now they can handle themselves and now we can turn them loose. That will take away one of the sore spots that bring about war, the operation of downtrodden peoples by the other nations. If we can get an evolutionary scheme, these people can work themselves up until they are able to be self-governing units, and they will be allowed to handle their own business. Thus we will minimize the possibility of future wars.

Bolles—Do you believe all colonial powers, Representative Johnson, should follow our Philippine program?

Johnson—Yes I do. I agree with Wendell Willkie that we ought to lay down a principle whereby these nations can look forward to the day of self-government. I mean those nations that are an economic unit or political unit. We cannot fix a date because they are in different stages of development. But all these units ought to have the same right as the American nation has to handle their own business, free from imposition on the part of larger nations. That is why I think this trusteeship has a distinct nucleus of a tremendous good, of a tremendous step in the minimization of war.

Mrs. Douglas – Machinery is given and now it is up to the people to use it.

Implementing the San Francisco Charter

BRUCE BLIVEN
Editor, New Republic

PIERRE DE LANUX
Former member, French High Commission to the U.S.A.

NORMAN COUSINS
Editor, Saturday Review of Literature

FRANK GERVASI
Foreign correspondent

FRANCIS E. McMAHON
Columnist and professor, University of Chicago

Norman Cousins – Someone once asked Victor Hugo what he thought of civilization. Hugo said: "It's a good idea, someone ought to start it." Millions of people all over the world today have something of the same feeling. Coming out of a long war which has drained much of their blood and strength they would like to see

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civilization, a real civilization, started and given a chance to live and grow.

Frank Gervasi, you have been abroad recently. You have been able to get close to people, you know what's in their hearts and in their minds, won't you tell us what the feeling in Europe, as you understand it, seems to be? Not only as it concerns the Charter but also the responsibility of Americans in helping to make that Charter work.

Frank Gervasi—Rather a large order, Mr. Cousins. But I can only speak for that part of Europe that I know, where I have been as a correspondent. I can speak for Greece and Yugoslavia, Italy and France. Mr. De Lanux will tell you more about France, but I can speak of the other three countries and for the Middle East quite clearly. They expect everything of us. As a matter of fact, America is sort of the American dream over there. I will illustrate that with a little human interest story, if I may. One day in Athens my secretary, a little lady of about 53, came to see me. She came to see me with a bunch of hyacinths in her hand. I was very touched by this because I knew how hard it was to get food in Athens, let alone flowers. I said, "I appreciate these very much, Madame Mosoupoulis, but why did you do it?" She said: "No special reason, Mr. Gervasi, except that you are an American and today you have re-elected Mr. Franklin Delano Roosevelt as President of the United States."

Mr. Roosevelt was a sort of symbol to these people. But more than Mr. Roosevelt, America is a symbol of everything they hold dear—security, freedom, and economic as well as political democracy. We cannot let them down. We have to ratify that Charter right away, if possible, unanimously.

Cousins—Mr. De Lanux, do Mr. Gervasi's observations seem to you to express the dominant feeling of the French people?

Pierre de Lanux—I am afraid I have to agree with him. It would be more exciting if we had a fight but I have to agree with him this far. My feeling is that the case of France is not different from the case of the other nine liberated countries of Europe. Now these liberated nations of Europe are not very big but together they make 140,000,000 people. That is quite a power. My feeling is that they have a common experience through their conquerors and their liberation. They have a common need for security and I think for them the Charter and America's attitude toward the Charter is absolutely welcome. They have, perhaps, in their hearts the spirit of the Charter.

One point I would like to make is that between these liberated nations of Europe there is no quarrel. You always think of European nations being at each other's throats but that does not apply to these ten nations. You see the ones I mean; I do not have to enumerate them. They have quarrels with other people but not among themselves. You will probably see these nations strongly drawn together in a policy of mutual defense, in a spirit of the Charter and of balance of friendship between England, America and Russia.

Cousins—Won't you tell us something about France today as compared with France after the last war. Here you have two parallel hopes. Would you care to compare them?

De Lanux—Very briefly, I think there is a tremendous difference between our experience in this war, when we were completely conquered and then completely liberated. The main difference for the future is that new types of men have emerged, the leaders in the Underground. After the last war we had brave men who had shown their courage, and their discipline and who had done a good deal in the war. But they were not necessarily qualified for leadership. This time I think we have a crop of leaders all over the country who have shown not only courage but also prudence and intelligence. And I think that goes for the rest of liberated Europe as well. They have already been elected to speak for themselves so we have a personnel to draw from for our future leaders. That is an important point.

Cousins—Mr. Bliven, how would you describe the needs of the economic implementation of the Charter?

Bruce Bliven—You must have implementations in the economic sphere as well as in the political sphere. It would be completely impossible to have a world which was cooperating politically and

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which was pursuing isolationist policies economically. That would apply to the Bretton Woods Proposals which technically have nothing to do with the United Nations Charter at San Francisco but spiritually, and in fact, have everything in the world to do with it. It would be a profound disaster if we adopted the United Nations Charter and then showed that the United States was not really sincere by repudiating the Bretton Woods Charter. You have to be of one piece in this thing. A man cannot bring his wife roses one minute and hit her in the eyes the next minute. At least he ought not do it.

If we really mean to play with the rest of the world, we must play with the rest of the world right down the line. And if we wish to have peace in the world, we must have prosperity in the world. You can't have hungry and destitute and poverty-stricken people without having the danger that somewhere a fascist adventurer will rise and take their minds off their empty stomachs by giving them guns and starting them out in war.

So I say that it is of the very greatest importance that we should ratify the Bretton Woods Proposals. We should follow policies of economic cooperation in general to the highest possible extent, if we are going to give the United Nations Charter a chance to work.

Cousins — I liked your analogy to the married couple because we have now just taken the marriage vows and it will be up to us to make that marriage work.

That brings up the question of human rights with which Mr. McMahon has concerned himself to a great extent these last few years. I would like to ask Mr. McMahon what he thinks of the provisions for human rights in the Charter, especially since these provisions were not provided for in Dumbarton Oaks, and they have come as a sort of plus, a magnificent plus.

Francis McMahon — The things said in the Charter about human rights certainly do constitute a magnificent expression of an ideal. As regards the implementation, there is a statement to the effect that all members pledge themselves to joint and separate action, in cooperation with the organization, for the achievement of these rights. "The respect and observation of human rights without distinction to race, sex, language or religion," says the Charter. I don't want to get cynical, but we cannot profess, on a world-wide scale, to create respect for human rights and at the same time, at home, take the idea that we can crush the liberties and impede the progress of minority groups.

Cousins—We are all agreed, then, that there is a tremendous moral responsibility for the United States to make the United Nations Charter work. Mr. Gervasi, if you had to tell us how the United Nations Charter can be put to work, what would you say?

Gervasi — It is a magnificent blueprint for the machinery. Let us hurry up and build the machinery and get it going.— For example the machinery for the creation of an international police force. — We ought to have that as quickly as possible. We have some of it under Bretton Woods. We ought to certainly have the machinery for the economic and social rehabilitation of Europe as soon as possible because unless that rehabilitation comes about, we are not going to be able to keep up our own high level of employment and prosperity.

Cousins — The question before us is strong organization versus loose organization. I would like to have you comment on that observation if you agree it is a valid one, Mr. Bliven.

Bliven—I think the United States must stand behind an organization just as strongly as the other participants are prepared to stand behind it. It is impossible for us to limit our participation and then expect the other nations to give full strong participation. In the long run I would hope that the United Nations won't need to use force because I think its great value will be in preventing the causes of war rather than having to stop a war by the use of force after it has started.

But at the beginning, of course, we must show our full cooperation. I think the great danger is that Senators who are opposed to the idea of the United Nations Charter, but are afraid to say so, will try to whittle down American participation rather than come out frankly and say they don't want the thing at all.

McMahon—We also have the problem

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coming up, Bliven, of enabling legislation and appropriation for our representation in Congress. Undoubtedly there will be a fight on that as well. We shall also, it seems to me without indulging in habitual prophesy, have the opponent trying to exaggerate the truly manifest and obvious weaknesses. But I say exaggerate, and also play up to an undue extent the manifest conflicts that will be bound to arise between great powers.

Cousins—Isn't it also likely that there will be a fight over the authority given to the United States delegate? As it is now, there are certain persons in the Senate who would like to see Congress act on every specific decision that the delegate would have to make. They would like to see every decision referred back to the Senate. We do know that if our delegate is to act effectively, he must have authority. He must have authority in conjunction with the President and perhaps with the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, but it should not be necessary to have to come back to the Senate for a full vote on every single issue.

Cousins—Let us try to make this discussion practical. Just what can the average citizen do to make the United Nations Conference work? That is what the entire discussion comes down to, as it should.

Gervasi—Above all, John Doe ought to have faith in the principles of democracy and practice democracy just as he practices Christianity. Incidentally, I see no great difference between democracy and Christianity. I consider democracy to be merely practical application of Christian principles. I think John Doe should have faith in these principles and practice them every day in his living life.

Cousins—Mr. De Lanux, I should like to address this same question to you. What about Mr. John Doe?

De Lanux—I should say that John Doe must realize that international responsibilities are just as important as national ones. As a citizen of the world, as he has been since the Charter was signed, he should take these responsibilities very seriously. His absent-mindedness is the great danger, and above all, let John Doe be extremely careful as to whom he elects to represent him, because everything hangs on his getting the right man in the job.

Cousins—Mr. Bliven, same question.

Bliven—I think it is very important that John Doe should not feel that when the Senate ratifies the covenant something wonderful has been accomplished, and that he can just lean back and forget all about it. What has happened is that John Doe has bought himself a saw and some wood and now it is time for him to get in and saw wood. First thing he has to do is realize what are the causes of war, what it is going to cost to do away with war. He has to make up his own mind whether he is going to support the United Nations in really doing away with those causes, no matter how much it hurts.

McMahon—I think I have the toughest thing to offer to John Doe. I should tell John Doe that Molotov and Stettinius and Eden and Bidault are not responsible for the imperfect instrument, the United Nations Charter. It is John Doe, it is the waiter, it is you, it is I, it is the taxicab man who is responsible. Behind the national state is the individual, John Doe, myself. You must reform your own hearts and minds and drive out those cancers of national egoism and of undemocratic procedures. If John Doe does or does not do so, that is his responsibility. His sentiment, his attitude, his belief is what will count. It is important how the John Doe in London thinks and acts—and the one in France, and in Moscow. What he thinks will affect the world order we seek to realize.

Cousins—I think we can sum up by saying the San Francisco Charter is perhaps a foothold on the future. A first step of a necessary step in the direction of a world community of a civilized peace. But we must also remember that it is only a first step. We Americans, in common with the peoples of the rest of the world, must be ready to take whatever additional steps are necessary to arrive at a common destination. For in the final analysis I think we agreed that the Charter is only a chance and an opportunity and nothing more. A chance to bring some measure of sanity and progress to the life and intercourse of nations, of a chance finally to prove that man is worth God's great gift of life.

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Ratification of the Charter

HUGH DE LACY
Representative, Washington

CHARLES M. LA FOLLETTE
Representative, Indiana

FORREST C. DONNELL
Senator, Missouri

EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER
Writer and Commentator

ELBERT D. THOMAS
Senator, Utah

Edgar Ansel Mowrer—The United States is coming back into history precisely where it went out in 1920. This is what struck me most at the San Francisco Conference. After the last war we Americans decided that we would not co-operate with the rest of the world in a new League of Nations. President Wilson warned us of the folly of this decision. He predicted a new war if we stayed out. We scorned his warning. We wanted to remain master of our own destiny. Well, Woodrow Wilson was right. We did not remain master of our own destiny. We did not enter this war because we wanted to, but because the Japs bombed us into it, when *they* chose, not when *we* chose.

Now, 25 years have revolved and we are right back where we were in 1920. The American Senate is going to choose between our joining the United Nations Organization to keep the peace or a new experiment with isolation, this time hemispheric.

Senator Thomas, you have made a lifelong study of political science. What do you think the United Nations Charter offers to every man and woman?

Elbert D. Thomas—First of all, of course, the idea of universal peace throughout the world will offer more to the average man than any one thing that can be given him. Secondly, in the progressive stages of the evolution of government throughout the earth, those governments that have become the most widespread are able to give to the individual better opportunities for life and better opportunities for a standard of living. The one thing we must look out for, which *is* looked out for in the Charter, is that local self-control of things that are entirely local should not be done away with.

Forrest C. Donnell—Does the Senator from Utah yield?

Mowrer—The senior Senator from Utah yields to the senior Senator from Missouri—Mr. Donnell.

Donnell—In answering your question again, Mr. Mowrer, it would seem to me that the San Francisco Conference offers to every person in this nation—indeed, to the peoples of the world—a sincere and, I trust, effective effort toward the maintenance of international peace and security. This is not a peace treaty which has been entered into or which has been formed. It is a Charter for the maintenance of peace and security.

Mowrer—We have heard the two senators, now we would like some opinions about the same question from the House of Representatives. Congressman Hugh de Lacy, what do the people think of world organization out in the State of Washington?

Hugh de Lacy—I am sure they think just exactly as these two distinguished senators think—that the chief thing that will come from this is a chance for world peace. In our part of the country, our only hope for prosperity and for jobs depends not only on the restoration but on a vast increase of shipping to the Orient—to China and Russia. And that means we must have political stability in those countries, freedom and peace in the world.

Mowrer—And now, Congressman Charles La Follette of Indiana.

Charles M. La Follette—I think the people of the Middle West have been maligned by some. As a person who has advocated international co-operation as a candidate the first time in 1942, I am convinced that the people feel as I do, that this is an opportunity which we cannot miss, and in which they want to participate.

Mowrer—Here are a few questions received from listeners in the last few days. Senator Thomas would you answer this

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one? "In the San Francisco Charter, are the small nations given equal justice with the large ones?"

Thomas—"Yes" is the proper answer. In the Charter itself each nation is guaranteed its individual sovereignty, which means its individual independence. That is the same sort of guarantee that we have in America today—that each person shall have equal opportunity before the law, and that the law shall be administered equally to all. Now, of course, everyone knows that there are large nations and small nations, that there are great needs and little needs. How to make it possible for a small nation without much influence in the world to have equal opportunity with a big nation is, of course, the problem of the organization itself. We solved that problem pretty well in the American Union. We had to do it by compromise. The point I think we ought to realize is this: the larger the nation the more problems it has, the smaller the nation the fewer problems. Therefore it should be easy to give the smaller nations all that they need in order to have equal opportunity and equal justice.

Mowrer—Here is a question for you, Senator Donnell, from a soldier. "Why was such a furore raised about the veto power of the Big Five?"

Donnell—This question of the veto has come up in several forms. One form is best illustrated in this way: the veto arises from the fact that on certain classes of cases not only must there be seven affirmative votes in order to authorize action but those seven votes must include all five of the permanent members—Great Britain, U. S., Russia, China and France. It's obvious that this does give the power of veto to any one of those five nations. The illustration is this: suppose one of those five commits an act of aggression, actively opposed to international law and to equity and to justice. Then it is proposed before the Security Council that definite military measures shall be instituted against the state that has committed this act of aggression. That state can itself, under the provisions of the United Nations Organization, veto any action against itself along the line of military or other non-pacific means of settlement.

Thus one nation, Nation "X," could commit an act of aggression and thereupon veto any motion which might be made in the Security Council to punish it or to take action against it as to prevent such act or the continuance of it. I think, Mr. Mowrer, that illustration indicates something of the reason for the furore. I shall not take any more time to discuss at the moment the justification for such a provision, but if time permits I will later on in the program take the liberty of mentioning the argument as to why such a provision is essential, and I believe it to be essential.

Mowrer—Some people want to know how the U. S. will be affected by the new world setup. Maybe one good way to show what entrance into the United Nations Organization will mean to the American citizen is to try to imagine what ordinary life will be like if we stay out. Isolationists seem to feel that things will be just about the same whichever we do. But will they? It seems that unless we join the United Nations Organization the world will inevitably live in fear of war. Fear of war could easily provoke a new armament race on the greatest scale ever seen. There might be an insatiable demand for ever new and more horrible weapons, we might have to have underground arsenals and shelters for whole populations.

I ask myself whether such an atmosphere would be compatible with the American way of life. More specifically, what would such armed isolation mean in terms like these: jobs for everybody, a high living standard, taxation, regimentation of business, more militarism, more or less personal freedom, etc. In other words, maybe you would try to answer the question: will life be different with a world organization to protect the peace, or without it? Go ahead gentlemen.

Thomas—That's a complex question and I think you will get a lot of complex answers. Assume that you have that sort of contest in regard to armament, what has it done for the world in the past? We know from a study of Germany *exactly* what it has done. It caused the German people to feel that a certain kind of munition was a whole lot better than butter—and probably it would have been if Hitler had succeeded. But we have the lesson in the failure. We have Italy, another great failure. We have Japan, a country which has tried to raise

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standards and had raised standards for the people from the very lowest—and then sacrificed those standards to a brutal and also to an unwise end. In my first message to Japan I made the statement that that country was probably committing the greatest national suicide ever indulged in by any nation in the history of the world. We now see that that was true. I think the answers to those questions should be taken right from actual history of the last generation.

De Lacy—That's absolutely correct. To get a good, clear picture of what it would mean to go right on preparing for another war, we just have to take the situation we have now. Does anybody like these wartime controls? Nobody writes me that he likes them.

La Follette—I think the degree of development of the Russian experiment depended upon its fear of war. They were forced to concentrate upon their heavy industry and the possibility of producing arms, so that the charge that they have not adequately raised the standards of living which we often hear must be measured by the fact that they had no opportunity under the fear of aggression from Germany. That has been so ever since they came into existence, and the fear extended from other countries as well as Germany which did not seem to approve of their system. The possibility of the Russian being able to develop what he has will, free of war, give us a better chance to measure what merit there is in it, and a better chance for understanding. That understanding, I feel, is the basis of all future peace.

Donnell—Supplementing what you said, in our country the opportunity of an international organization for the maintenance of peace and security lies in the fact that it will inevitably lead to a firmer feeling on the part of our people that they can go ahead and develop this nation without fear of the loss of their young manhood and young womanhood. I want to mention in that connection one phase of the United Nations which perhaps has not been treated as fully as it might in the press, that is, the Economic and Social Council. I make no criticism of the press in that respect. It is a somewhat recent development in which the Economic and Social Council's activities have been so greatly amplified over what they were stated to be in the skeleton form provided us at Dumbarton Oaks. I think, as Mr. Hoover has said, "It is not enough in order to prevent war to settle disputes as they arise. It is necessary that we remove the causes of war so far as possible." By proper economic development, by building up the conditions of the people of the various nations of the world, by proper educational advancement, we are bound to make for a better world.

Thomas—Would you like me to give you another illustration? The one I gave you before was a negative one about Germany. There is also a positive side. We have worked out in the world today a technique of government—in fact, three techniques of government, any one of which can be expanded into a universal government such as the Charter is to a limited extent. Our American federal system is one, the British Commonwealth system is another, the Russian Soviet system is another. All these systems have come into existence in the last few years, comparatively speaking. Now then, if the blessings which have followed in the wake of those great systems can be continued, no man can argue against them.

Mowrer—It certainly augurs well for the coming debate in the Senate that four gentlemen from such different regions as yourselves come together and agree at least on the fundamental task confronting us and the way we have got to get on. If I have learned anything from you, from your very wise remarks, it is this: You believe that while our American foreign policy is bound to reflect the situation at home, it is also true that our domestic policy will begin somewhat abroad. Unless we have confidence and unless we have peace, we cannot get the kind of society that we like. Senator Donnell spoke of the Economic and Social Council, and of the necessity of getting rid of the fundamental causes of war. If we did not have the promise of peace it would never get started. Senator Thomas pointed out in his very scholarly fashion that the San Francisco Charter is a sort of projection of our own Constitutional Charter. All seem to agree that once it is ratified by the Senate and by the other countries, it will still be just a beginning that has been made. The peoples must get behind it and make it work.

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Progress of the Struggle

by NORMAN ANGELL

THE CHARTER AND POWER POLITICS

IF we are to make of the new United Nations Charter the instrument of peace that it might be, if we are to learn how to use it, we must as a preliminary know what we mean by the words and phrases we fling about so casually. The other night on one of the forums of the air a participant said something to this effect:

"If, once more, the nations are going to resort to power politics, or play the balance of power game, then, of course, we might as well throw the Charter into the waste paper basket, for we shall head straight for World War No. III."

No one asked what the speaker meant by "power politics." Yet, it is quite evident that we don't know what we are talking about until some clear meaning is agreed upon for phrases which have a terrifying force—terrifying in the sense that if a given policy can be described by such a phrase as "power politics" from that moment no one dare defend it.

Power politics is presumably an attempt to use power for political purposes—for purposes of national defense for instance. Does this country, or any great country propose to abandon power as embodied in army, navy, air force, strategic bases? Everyone knows that this country like others is going to do the exact opposite. Whether or not it goes in for national military service after the war, its future army will be a bigger one than in the past, its future air force a very much bigger one, its future navy more than twice as big as before the war, its strategic strong points far more numerous, stretching almost round the world. Yet the very people who demand for the United States the possession of all these sources of power are often the very same who speak in angry condemnation of "power politics."

Obviously the phrase does not in their view mean the possession of national power, for they propose to increase this for the purpose of defense. Does "power politics" then mean alliance with others, a combination of their power with our own, for purposes of national security? In that case the Charter itself is condemned, for that is precisely what the Charter attempts to achieve: to combine the power of all the great nations for mutual security against lawless violence.

Power politics were once defined as the politics of not being overpowered, and that is as good a definition perhaps as any. When in July 1914 Great Britain saw that the defeat of France would bring Germany, as master of the whole Continent, to the shores of the narrow seas and in such a strategic position as to make it impossible for Britain to defend herself, she decided to support France. Behind that decision lay an extremely simple and quite obvious motive: that of national survival, the determination not to be at the mercy of an alien power like Germany, become so strong that she could not be resisted. In deciding to defend France as a measure of British defense, Britain played power politics. She did worse. She resorted to the principle of maintaining the balance of power, so that she should not be overpowered.

Some two years after Britain committed these crimes, the United States found herself committing the same. In 1917 it looked as though France would be utterly defeated by Germany; in that case Britain would be in danger, too. Germany would be dominant, not only on the Continent of Europe, but on the seas if Britain went down. As

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a measure of her own defense the United States entered the war against Germany, so that the balance of power in the world should not be so tipped against this country as to render its defense impracticable.

All this wicked "playing of power politics" and "resort to the balance of power politics" was repeated twenty years later. After the first world war Britain tired, having lost a million men, had like other countries, its fit of isolationism, and felt like letting the Continent go hang. When Germany began to knock over her neighbors one by one, despite all promises, Britain saw that the selfsame danger which faced her in 1914 was facing her again in 1939. Inevitably there would come a time when any further conquest would give Germany such power that she could not be resisted. The only course left to France and Britain would be submission. Britain decided she would not submit and with France announced that if Poland were attacked Britain would defend Poland.

At that time the Neutrality and Johnson Acts were still operative. But when France surrendered and it looked as though Britain might be overwhelmed, the United States reacted exactly as Britain had done to the situation of 1914. As we have noted she argued: "If France falls Germany will be in such a strong position that we in Britain will be in mortal peril; we must defend France." So, in 1917 and again in 1940 America argued: "If Britain as well as France is overwhelmed, Hitler will be in such a strong position that we in America will be in mortal peril; we must defend Britain." The Roosevelt policy was expressed at first in the destroyer deal and lend-lease, then in a shooting war.

Nor was the American defensive interest confined to Europe. If a power like Japan overcame China and was then in a position to use the resources of five hundred million souls—if India were added, a billion—while on the other side of the world Hitler was master of all Europe, then the peril to America would indeed be obvious. The balance of power would be tipped against her by the overwhelming preponderance of savage, totalitarian might.

What is the alternative to that power politics which aims at not being overpowered? Sheer submission to superior power? There is a good deal to be said for it, but communities long habituated to self government are not likely to say it.

Many political thinkers have seen the dilemmas and contradictions involved in the policy of the balance of power. Woodrow Wilson was among them, and enunciated the proposition that the balance of power must give place to the community of power: agreement among those who hold power to apply it to the common purpose of preventing violence by defending the victim of violence. This is what we do within the nation. We don't attempt to maintain a balance of physical power between rival political parties. The power behind the American Constitution defends alike the right of Republicans and Democrats to be secure from physical violence. The power which defends the rights of both is a common possession. We don't secure peace within the state by dissolving the differences between the rival political parties, but by finding the interest which rises above the differences and making power the constitutional instrument for the defense of that interest.

If the new Charter is to work, some similar process of agreement between those who differ in their ideologies and political principles must be found. We may then be able to set up what Wilson called the community of power as the successor to the attempt to maintain an unstable balance. But that achievement will be quite impossible if we refuse even to ask ourselves what we mean by the words we use.

The most clearly indicated purpose of America's immense increase of power is, of course, the preservation of American soil from invasion, of America from subjugation by a possible alien aggressor. Other purposes are sometimes expressed. "To make the world safe for democracy" is a slogan which is sometimes confused with the entirely different purpose of imposing democracy upon others. Plainly this is not feasible: democracy cannot be imposed. It is the result of a certain type of political culture, the maintenance of a certain scale of values, certain aptitudes, skills, desires.

What power can do—and it is one of the purposes the United Nations Charter must attempt to achieve—is to defend the right of nations to be democratic, if they

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want to be and can be, free from outside compulsion.

So the new powers of the United States are not to be used for the purpose of imposing upon other countries, like the Latin American republics, or Russia, or China, the particular system which America has developed. The purpose of that power is to ensure that alien systems and alien rule shall not be imposed upon the United States. Its aim is the defense of this country, defense of the right to live under the system it prefers, to live with the fullest independence compatible with cooperation with others for common purposes.

But America has also recognized that a policy of defense which permitted either or both of two conditions to arise would be completely illusory. The first of those conditions would arise if any prospective aggressor, by one means or another, managed to get within close range of the actual shores of the United States. Thus it has long been the American policy to prevent European powers from establishing themselves in the western hemisphere, as the Holy Alliance may have thought of doing, or as for a time France actually did with her support of Maximilian.

For a great totalitarian power to be established anywhere in Central America, for instance, would be regarded as a direct threat to the United States. The acquisition by a foreign power of complete control of the sea would also almost certainly be resisted by the United States: that is the partial explanation of the demand that the United States shall possess a navy greater than any other navy in the world.

Control of the sea for America is necessary in order to prevent there taking place on this hemisphere what actually did take place on June 6, 1944, in the case of Europe. On that day that Continent, then as to its whole western area under the control of Hitler's armies, was invaded. American and British armies using Britain as a bridgehead started an invasion, and within less than a year had conquered, or if you will, reconquered, a territory comparable to the territory of the United States, which had been heavily armed and was defended by fortifications of immense strength. This invasion was rendered possible by the fact that the bridgehead in England had given time for American power, particularly mechanical power, to organize itself, to be assembled and prepare for the assault. It is true, of course, that this could not have taken place at all if Russia had not been an element in the destruction of German power.

The fact which concerns the United States is that the vast American power which alone made this invasion possible came from a source three thousand miles from the point at which it was assembled and used. The Russian power itself had been aided and sustained by material provided at even greater distances, sent via the North Sea or via the Indian Ocean, up the Persian Gulf by the land route through the Near East. If Hitler had been able to wrest command of the sea from Britain in the early stages of the war he could not merely have subdued Britain by invasion—which his inadequate naval resources in 1940 made impossible—he could have prevented also the invasion of the European Continent which was his undoing. America must in the future face the fact that, if this situation were reversed and she and her allies lost control of the seas, the North American Continent might well suffer what the European Continent actually did suffer.

September Picture Section

Our mail this month brought many letters of praise for the picture section in the June issue, which included artists' sketches and photographs on the San Francisco Conference. In the September issue FREE WORLD will carry a greatly expanded picture section as a permanent feature, representing from month to month a reportage of events around the world.

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HEADLINERS

James F. Byrnes

By
ULRIC BELL

THAT precious and fragile document called the San Francisco Charter, which begins with the words, "We, the peoples of the United Nations," could come to flaming life with the help of an American Secretary of State fired with conviction that the solemnly-arrived-at commitments of nations are no longer scraps of paper.

No man in the world at this hour could do more than the spokesman of the United States of America to make potent and meaningful the dedication of fifty nations to "respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, language, religion or sex." In these words of the preamble, rather than in all the machinery to stop war, lie the heart and soul of the Charter. They reaffirm "faith in the value of the human person, promise better standards of life in larger freedom," bind the nations to "practice tolerance." Their formula is that of the scoffed-at century of the common man.

A Secretary of State capable of thundering wrath over the slightest betrayal of this concept, even when he finds it within his own department—one ever aware that freedom must be fought for, always and everywhere, even in Mississippi, certainly would be listened to by time's greatest audience.

Such a leader would have no patience with the smirkers who dismiss the preamble as mere folderol for the mailed fist and, yawning, say that its objectives might possibly be attained in a thousand years.

It is such a leader that millions visualize as the American custodian of this Charter in which may rest the golden chance of the ages for a good world.

The man Americans will have as their Secretary of State, only a breath removed from the Presidency of the United States, is James Francis Byrnes, product of the South and its feudal political system, party technician, hail fellow and adroit parliamentarian. Byrnes would wince if he were called a crusader or an idealist. Yet, when his whole story is examined, it cannot be hazarded that the worst of his background will always win out over his better destiny. Few men are richer in public experience, abler or more intelligent. Catfish Row, squalid symbol of his native Charleston's racism and backwardness, is far back in his Odyssey, but it is possible that he can still catch the connection between it and the preamble, between it and Yalta and San Francisco, between oppression in South Carolina and oppression in Poland or Holland.

In any case, much of the hope men hold since San Francisco is now focussed in the slight, brisk figure of this rich-voiced Southerner chosen at 66 by President Truman to succeed Edward R. Stettinius in a post long held by another Southerner, Cordell Hull. Whether Jimmie Byrnes can outshine himself and his old environment, whether this is just another piece of work for him or the magnificent chance for which he has been waiting—the time for greatness—only he in his secret heart can tell.

This writer, who has known Byrnes as a man and a public figure for many years, can do no more than set down what manner

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of man he is, what his record is in public life, and what the task is which now confronts him.

By the time these words are read, Byrnes may have revealed at the Berlin meeting of the Big Three his capacity for grasping the "one world" concept and its staggering implications for every human being. He may have shown whether the transition from Southern politician and Senate compromiser to world statesman is perfunctory or promising; whether Spartanburg, S. C., and Potsdam are still in separate compartments in his mind.

By that time, too, the new Secretary may have taken the first steps toward ridding his new department of some of its incubi, that part of its personnel responsible for its appeasement practices. Under-Secretary Grew, for example, and his persistently quaint and dangerous fixation: "Don't be harsh with Hirohito." But that will not necessarily mean that Byrnes has thrown himself into the real fight for freedom.

Fighting Dragons

IN the past, Byrnes has taken on some pretty big dragons when they came his way. The question is whether he will go out looking for them. A little blood-letting in the Department itself would be salutary and auspicious. But Byrnes, whether or not he is an idealist, must recognize that the world now expects him to set himself up in the St. George business wholesale. A few bureaucratic hides hung upon his wall would mean little if the woods outside still were full of menacing monsters.

Before he can even embark on any long-range program, the new Secretary will in all probability undergo an immediate hazing at the hands of the career men. It is a custom of certain of these fixtures in the foreign service to test the mettle of each newcomer to the Department. With the devices at their command, they usually can determine whether a freshman Secretary is to be his own man or a comfortable shirt-front who is not looking for trouble. Their method is comparable to that of enlisted men of the old regular army with rookie officers— though more elegant. Some fairly hard-bitten citizens have come to grief at the hands of these adroit gentlemen. Byrnes' old friend, Ray Moley, and Sumner Welles, are among sub-Cabinet folks whom they have worn down.

Jim Byrnes himself is in the hard-bitten class and he begins with an aversion for the more pronounced State Department types, vulgarly and sometimes unfairly called "cookie pushers." His own school is of the lustier, gustier "men are men" variety, wherein pretty politeness and protocol are subjects for ribald jest. His appointment, for reasons having little to do with social and political ideology, jittered up the whole Departmental establishment in no small measure. Just as surely, the tension will hold until Assistant Secretary Jimmie Dunn, front man for the Departmental Old Guard, reports to the boys on his preliminary probings of the new head man. Charming, able and resourceful, Dunn turns up on all the key missions. Though one of those whose ousting progressive thinkers are clamoring, Dunn was in his usual spot when the President and Secretary sailed for the latest Big Three meeting.

Byrnes knows far more about what he is up against than most men who have taken on the job of "Foreign Secretary." And, under the circumstances of his appointment —at the hands of an old crony far less versed in the ways of Washington—it is reasonable to suppose that Byrnes will be depended upon by the President. Roosevelt's relationship to a Secretary of State was different.

On the asset side for Byrnes, let us write down his great experience and his long association with Roosevelt. His record in the field of purely international affairs is all but flawless. From the beginning, he has supported the administration's foreign policy. The South has never been isolationist in the sense of staying out of either war or peace ventures. Woodrow Wilson remains one of its patron saints. As long as Byrnes meant the phrase "fight for freedom," which he has frequently used, as a non-ideological term, he was running no risks. When and if he starts to impart to it its full meaning, he will have on his neck the assorted bigots, party hatchet men, Bible-shouters, anti-labor vigilantes and feudal tycoons who make the South a remaining stronghold of the sort of thing for which Hitler tried to light a world-wide torch. It

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will be exactly on this point that the Preamble and Byrnes will be tested.

Byrnes starts out with all that a man could ask in the way of equipment for his great opportunity. In public life, he has climbed the ladder all the way from local prosecutor through the offices of representative, senator, associate justice of the Supreme Court, and "Assistant President" as war stabilizer and war mobilizer. He is on good terms with most public men in both parties. He has great personal magnetism, a rare sense of humor, a knack for storytelling, an Irish smile and a mellow Dixie accent that make him welcome everywhere. At 66, he is still quick and vital. These assets in the past have made him a composing agent in dealing with head-on issues rather than a crusading protagonist on either side of them.

About New Dealers

IN February, 1943, Byrnes told an audience of newspaper editors in Washington, regarding an ensemble of wartime officials he named:

"Whatever you say about them, you cannot fairly characterize them as long-haired, starry-eyed New Dealers."

The present Secretary of State was then embarking on his duties as Director of Economic Stabilization and his tongue-in-cheek attitude regarding the administration of which he had long been a part was probably the reflection of his inner self.

Yet he has never been of the flannelmouth ilk from the South shouting "nigger domination" and railing at the "aliens" and Jews and Catholics and labor magnates of the North as sinister enemies of "white supremacy," which is the South's version of the "herrenvolk" theory. One of his first acts on being appointed Secretary was to name as an assistant Ben Cohen, one of the original New Dealers. This act itself was a declaration of war upon a State Department clique which had resented the intrusion of Cohen into the Department and into the galaxy of delegates to the Dumbarton Oaks conference. Byrnes and Cohen are the fastest of friends. As recently as last September, publicly calling for more of a fight for freedom, Byrnes, as War Mobilizer, spoke of America's responsibilities to the whole world in the matter of providing relief from suffering and in helping to raise the living standards of all peace-loving peoples. In the same speech, nevertheless, he seemed to subscribe to the principle that when war production ceases and unemployment results it will not be the Government's responsibility to see that jobs are provided.

When Byrnes took over the Office of Economic Stabilization he called his establishment the "left wing" of the White House. His sense of humor is one of the vehicles by which he gets about and he is at home in any company. If his appointment has left him unchanged, he can laugh heartily over the belief of many that the shorthand notes he is supposed to have taken at Yalta made him indispensable to Mr. Truman when the latter suddenly found a seething world on his hands. He can be likewise amused over the fact that his lack of formal education helped to make him Secretary of State. When he was compelled to leave school at 14, his widowed mother taught him stenography and he became a court reporter at 21, which led him to the practice of law, to a circuit court prosecuting attorneyship, and to the status of small-town publisher. He may chuckle over the fact that he is in line for the Presidency in spite of the C. I. O. veto of his vice-Presidential candidacy.

Born in Reconstruction Days and brought up in the bitter aftermath of that unhappy period for the South, Byrnes could have developed after the manner of such men as Huey Long, Bilbo, Representative Rankin, Tarheel Bob Reynolds, Cotton Ed Smith, Cole Blease, Martin Dies and others, alive and dead, who have left and are leaving odious imprints on the Southern record in Congress. He didn't.

But Byrnes could fraternize with these characters and sympathize with some of their projects without suffering from great nausea. A subject himself of King Cotton and that political monarch's farm bloc mode of ruling on the *quid pro quo* basis, Byrnes could be a close associate of Franklin D. Roosevelt and yet support the late Cotton Ed when the latter was on Roosevelt's purge list in 1938.

Cotton Ed was the South Carolina edition of Rankin and Bilbo, a flamboyant old

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feudalist who regularly stirred the hillbillies in behalf of white supremacy and Southern womanhood. Even the hillbillies finally tired of him in 1944. But in 1938 he had a burning issue; he had gone to the 1936 Democratic convention at Philadelphia and found on the rostrum, praying before the delegates, a Negro preacher—"as black as melted midnight" as he kept repeating in outraged oratory. Byrnes was no more outraged than he has since been over the inflammatory outbursts of men like Rankin and Bilbo.

Supported World Court

BYRNES' record as a senator includes support of the World Court, votes to end the mandatory arms embargo, to turn over surplus war supplies to the Allies, to seize and transfer Axis merchant ships, to establish lend-lease, to start conscription in 1940, to extend reciprocal trade without restrictions. In a speech he made before becoming War Mobilizer, he spoke of the Axis plotting our destruction while "we were passing neutrality laws that helped them out."

In the Senate, Byrnes was often called upon as trouble man when Majority Leader Barkley needed his suave and sure touch. He did many a chore for the New Deal, voted for earlier New Deal measures like NRA, AAA, TVA, the St. Lawrence Treaty, stock exchange control. He supported the Wagner Labor Relations Act, but was against the "death sentence" for public utility holding companies and against the anti-lynch-bill.

On more pointed labor issues, he has usually been with the conservatives. He opposed the wage-hour law and opposed some of the unemployment relief measures. He was reported last year to be in favor of the George bill, cutting unemployment benefits, but he later caused a statement to be issued indicating this was only partly true, that he favored higher payments, and adding that State laws were inadequate to cope with this national problem. This left him halfway between the George stand for State rights and the Murray-Kilgore program for making sure at any cost that no great numbers go jobless. As Associate Justice, he had written a majority opinion holding that the A. F. of L.'s Teamsters' Union could not be prosecuted under the Federal anti-racketeering law.

In the early days, Byrnes was listed as supporting President Roosevelt's Supreme Court reorganization plan, vehemently opposed by other Southerners.

At Warm Springs, after the election in 1932, Jimmie Byrnes was one of the first callers. The sympatico then established persisted throughout the Rooseveltian days. In many ways, Roosevelt and Byrnes were much alike, with the same large sense of proportion, the same nimble-wittedness, the same capacity for resounding laughter —and some of the same sensitivity. This led later to the relationship by which Byrnes became a real Assistant President, with large jurisdiction over such varied matters as production, transportation, wages, profits, jockeys, Henry Kaiser, nightclubs, housing, labor, Willow Run, brasshats, brassrails and even Southerners. By the time of Yalta, Byrnes already knew much of the old woman who lived in a shoe.

Byrnes has been at home with the "gang down at Hogans," a convivial crowd of journalists and moguls who used to gather with Frank J. Hogan, Byrnes' cousin and former president of the American Bar Association. There, and at the Burning Tree Club, Jimmie could lift his baritone voice and his glass with the best of them. He was never "controversial." Now, he can go on being that way, or he can take a stand, become a name for the ages. If he can see Dr. Schacht and Rene de Chambrun, with all their American friends, and the Riviera set, and the international cartelists, and the home-grown Hitlers like Bob Reynolds in their true light; if he can speak up to Churchill and Stalin and Franco with democracy ever in his mind; if he can cope with the breed of diplomatists to whom the swastika has been only a technical vexation —if there is real revulsion in his heart at what has happened to the world, he can begin applying the Scripture he quoted back in 1943, referring to Hitler:

"Behold, he travaileth with iniquity; yea, he hath conceived mischief, and brought forth falsehood. He hath made a pit, and is fallen into the ditch which he made. His mischief shall return upon his own head, and his violence shall come down upon his own pate."

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A Move for a Better World

The Economic And Social Council

BY
RAOUL AGLION

The new Charter does far more than set up means for checking aggression. It provides measures that will foster peace, and encourage nations to keep the peace in their own interest.

BY far the greatest accomplishment at San Francisco was that having to do with economic, social and humanitarian cooperation on the international plane.

The text relating to economic and social questions occupied little space in the Covenant of the League of Nations. To find it, one must turn to one of the last articles (Art. 23) *Social and Other Activities.*

At Dumbarton Oaks the negotiators were more generous. They drafted an entire chapter under the title "Arrangements for International Economic and Social Cooperation." This was divided into four sections: (a) Purpose and relationship; (b) Composition and voting; (c) Functions and powers of the Economic and Social Council; (d) Organization and procedure.

From the earliest sessions, the delegates showed a unanimous desire to enlarge the field of economic and social activity of the new organ. The Economic and Social Council had, even after its first blueprinting at Dumbarton Oaks, a structure that was only the more democratic in that no permanent headquarters was foreseen, and that none of the participants had the power of veto.

At the very first session, an amendment was proposed by the New Zealand delegation, tending to place the future Economic and Social Council among the principal organs of the future Charter, next in importance to the Security Council. It was adopted without opposition.

All the powers were in accord in making the Economic and Social Council one of the principal organs of the new world organization. In consequence, all subsequent work and effort was directed toward improving and reinforcing the powers of the Council. In the present Charter, economic and social questions are discussed, not in one, but in two long chapters (IX and X), and references to economic and social questions are likewise found in the preamble, in the chapters:

I. Art. 1 par. 3—Purpose and principles
III. Article 7—Organs
IV. Art. 13, 17, 18—General Assembly
IX. Economic and Social Cooperation
X. The Economic and Social Council
XIII. Art 91—Council for Trusteeship.

When one compares the ensemble of this Charter with the text of the Covenant of the League of Nations, one has a strong impression that the Geneva Pact was written by *jurists,* that the Charter was written by *economists,* by sociologists, by statesmen conscious of the importance of the major problems affecting the pacific development of the nations.

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The Economic and Social Council will be composed of eighteen members of the International Organization. They will be elected by a two-thirds majority of the votes of the General Assembly. The Security Council will exercise no power of veto over these elections. The members of the Economic and Social Council will be elected for a period of three years. Decisions of the Council are to be taken by a simple majority of those present and voting.

At the first election eighteen members of the Economic and Social Council shall be chosen. The term of office of six members so chosen shall expire at the end of one year and of six other members at the end of two years, in accordance with the arrangements made by the General Assembly. Thus, the partial renewal of its members will permit the Council to have the continuity necessary for the exercise of its functions.

It was deemed not in accord with democratic principles to have permanent seats on the Council. Yet all the delegates present were of the opinion that the presence of those nations which are most important economically is indispensable to the success of the organ. The Committee which drew up the report remedied the silence of the text on this question by specifically recommending the re-eligibility of the members. Accordingly the Assembly will be able, if it judges useful, to re-elect constantly those members which appear economically the most important and whose social progress has been the most considerable.

The Economic and Social Council shall convoke to its sessions and allow to participate in its labors, without the right of vote, states interested in any question under discussion. The situation will probably not occur frequently. If the distribution of the eighteen seats has been well made, it would seem that the majority of interests, whether economic, social or regional, or other, should be represented on the Council.

The Council's Powers

WHAT is the purpose of the Economic and Social Council?

It will be concerned with a considerable number of matters. If one wished to define its powers negatively, one might say that it will have to do with all matters that are not political or that do not touch on security. Political questions will fall within the functions of the Assembly and security questions of the Security Council.

Article 55 of Chapter IX enumerates the purpose of the organ:

"With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote:

A. Higher standard of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development;

B. Solutions of international economic, social, health and related problems; and international cultural and educational cooperation; and

C. Universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."

It would be impossible to over-emphasize the importance of these texts. Their value is so great that it was later elaborated that the Economic and Social Council shall set up commissions in economic and social fields and for the promotion of human rights.

What could be the purpose of a Commission for Human Rights, if not to draw up an international declaration of the rights of man? Numerous private organizations have already been preoccupied with drafting these principles. None, however, was able to have the different points of its program adopted on an international scale. It will be for a special commission to draft a new "Declaration of Independence" which will guarantee liberty of conscience and of religion, liberty of speech and of press, liberty to work and the right to work, respect for the human person, liberty of assembly, equality of all before the law, equality of admission to jobs, to professions or to public service.

The fundamental liberties dealt with in the Charter are related to the four liberties proclaimed by the Atlantic Charter, even though no allusion to the Atlantic Charter was made in the Charter's text.

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The Economic and Social Council has three sorts of powers: those delegated to it by the General Assembly, those it holds in its own right, and certain powers in connection with the other Councils.

The General Assembly can delegate to the Council all authority on matters within its field of competence.

"1. The Economic and Social Council may make or initiate studies and reports with respect to international economic, social, cultural, educational, health and related matters and may make recommendations with respect to any such matters to the General Assembly, to the members of the United Nations, and to the specialized agencies concerned.

2. It may make recommendations for the purpose of promoting respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.

3. It may draft conventions for submission to the General Assembly, with respect to matters falling within its competence.

4. It may call, in accordance with the rules prescribed by the United Nations, international conferences on matters falling within its competence."

The Council will have the duty of overseeing the execution of decisions taken by the Assembly and making reports to that body. The Council will likewise have extremely important coordinating functions. After the war there will exist a goodly number of specialized agencies—many more than before the war. The International Labor Office is one of the most important. Recently there have been created the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration; and the Food and Agriculture Administration. The International Civil Aviation Organization will have its first meeting in Montreal on August 7. The International Bank for Reconstruction, and the International Monetary Fund for stabilization of currencies, will likewise be established after ratification of the Bretton Woods Agreement. Other such organizations will be set up, in transit and communications, education, health, and in many other fields. The Economic and Social Council will be the coordinator of the programs and activities of all such agencies.

On the other hand, the Council, which emanates directly from the Assembly, will have direct relations with the other organs of the United Nations. Its duty will be, for instance, to lend assistance to the Security Council when requested, and to collaborate in the maintenance of peace or the application of coercive measures of an economic nature in respect to an aggressor state. It can of its own initiative furnish information to the Security Council, where it judges necessary to call attention to a grave matter within its competence which is of a nature that might jeopardize the peace.

The International Council of Trusteeship may also turn to the Economic and Social Council or to the specialized agencies for aid in matters of colonial economy and on all other problems related to education, health, social and humanitarian questions in the countries placed under its trusteeship.

The rôle of the Economic and Social Council in the years following the war will be the more important in that it will have the obligation to participate in the re-establishment of normal conditions in the world. During these years it must be active in giving its opinions and in participating in every way in the reconstruction of an economy destroyed by the war. Later it should aid in maintaining harmonious relations among the peoples. It must so function that the pacific relations among men may be such that no one will any longer desire to resort to war. If the Security Council is one of the most important organs, it is because it disposes of means for suppressing war or the menace of war. The Economic and Social Council is perhaps even more important, since it can create conditions such that men will have an interest in living in peace. The Economic and Social Council is a preventive organ, while the Security Council only functions in a repressive capacity.

Finally, the economic and social texts included in this Charter are of such import that certain observers have called Chapters IX and X, "the Charter within the Charter." One can rightly consider that the Economic and Social Council will constitute the economic and social Headquarters Staff of the world of tomorrow.

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A Better Future for the World's People

These pictures, looking into the future, suggest how all the United Nations will prosper under the influence of the Economic and Social Council of the new World Organization, the Charter for which was written at San Francisco.

NORWAY'S people are busy on the reconstruction of the Norwegian fleet.

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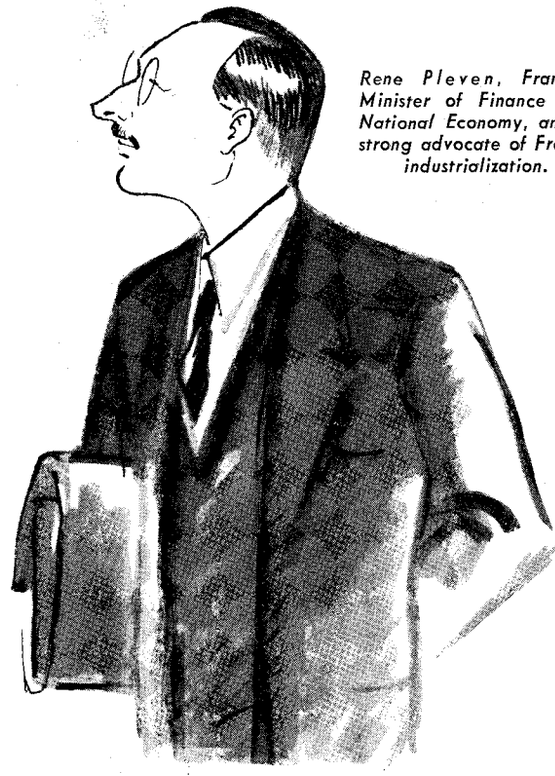
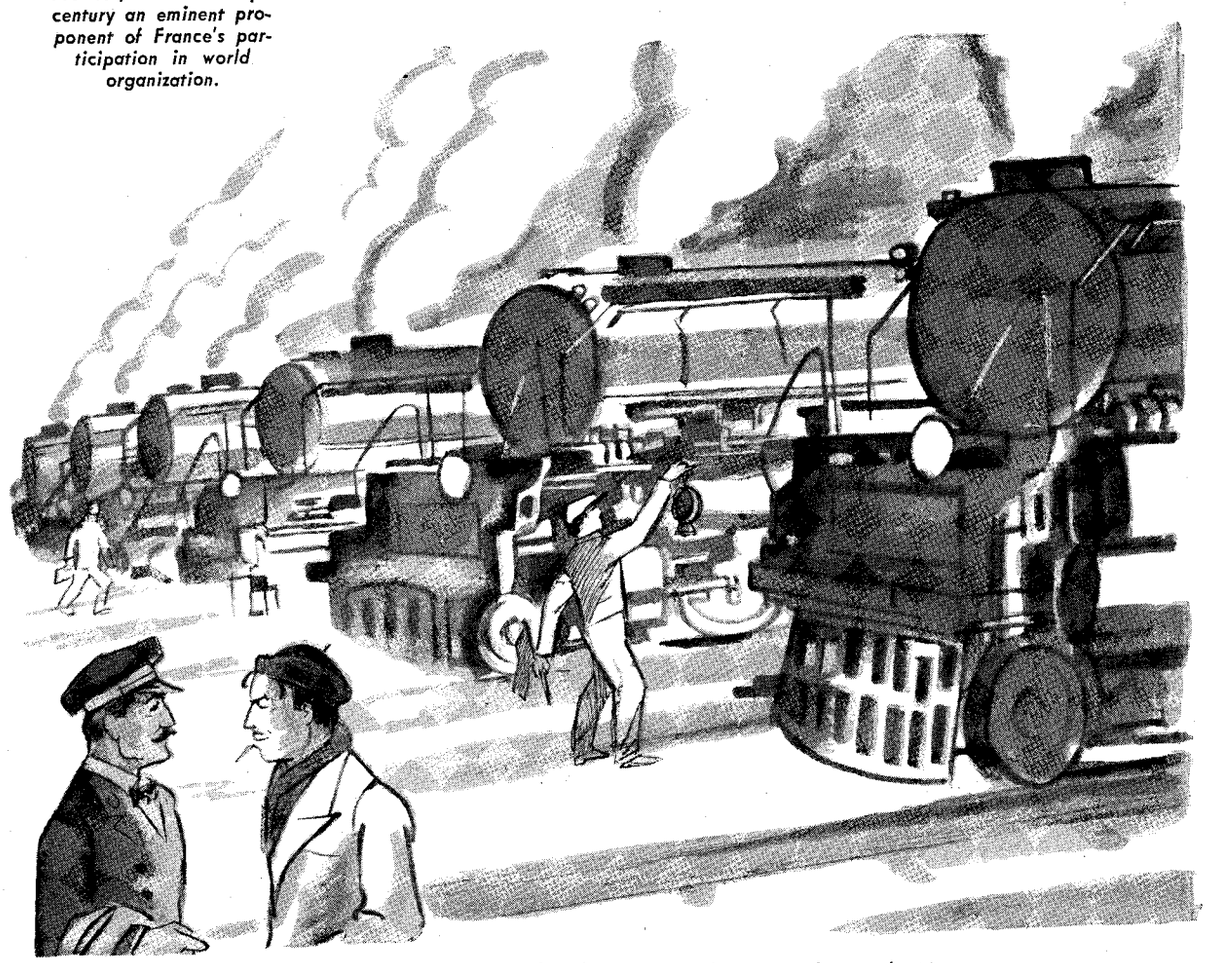
Paul Boncour, one of the leading elder statesmen of France, former Premier, and for a quarter of a century an eminent proponent of France's participation in world organization.



Rene Pleven, France's Minister of Finance and National Economy, and a strong advocate of French industrialization.



FRANCE, which had seen much of her transportation system destroyed or incapacitated by war, sees her railroad equipment renewed and modernized.

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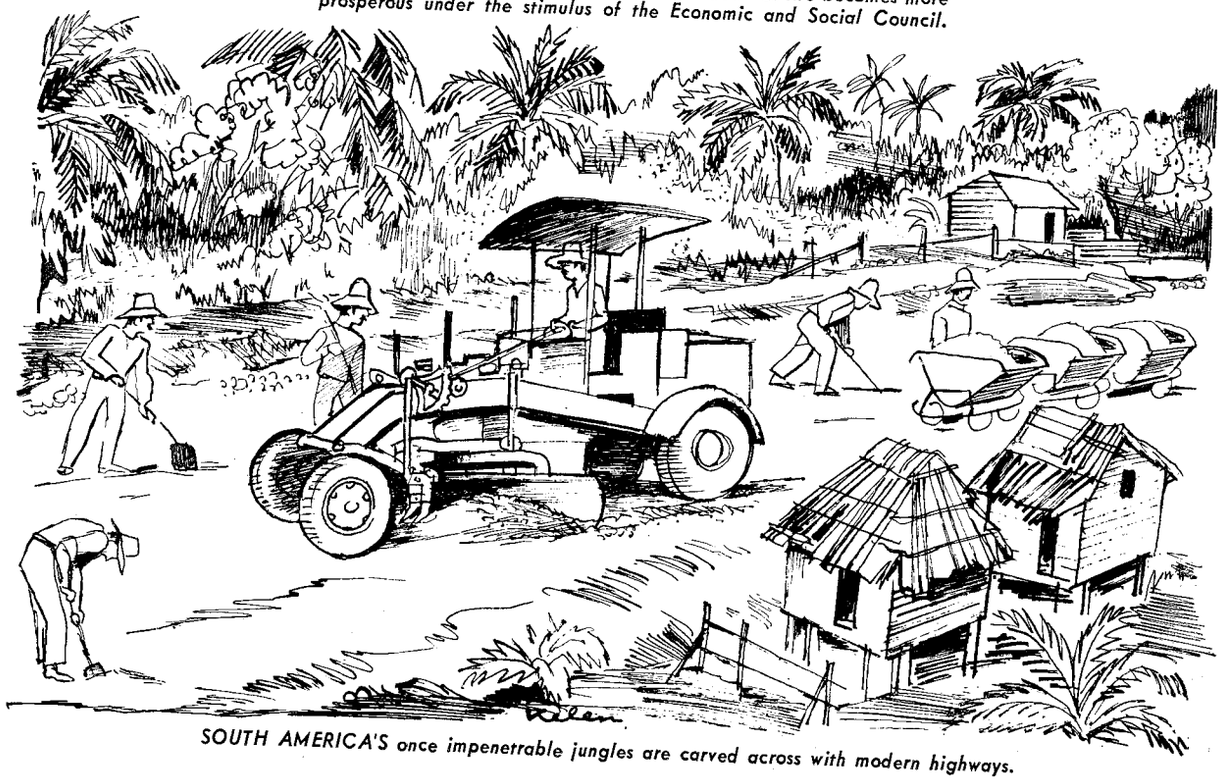
THE NOMADS of the Near East can settle down as life becomes more prosperous under the stimulus of the Economic and Social Council.



SOUTH AMERICA'S once impenetrable jungles are carved across with modern highways.

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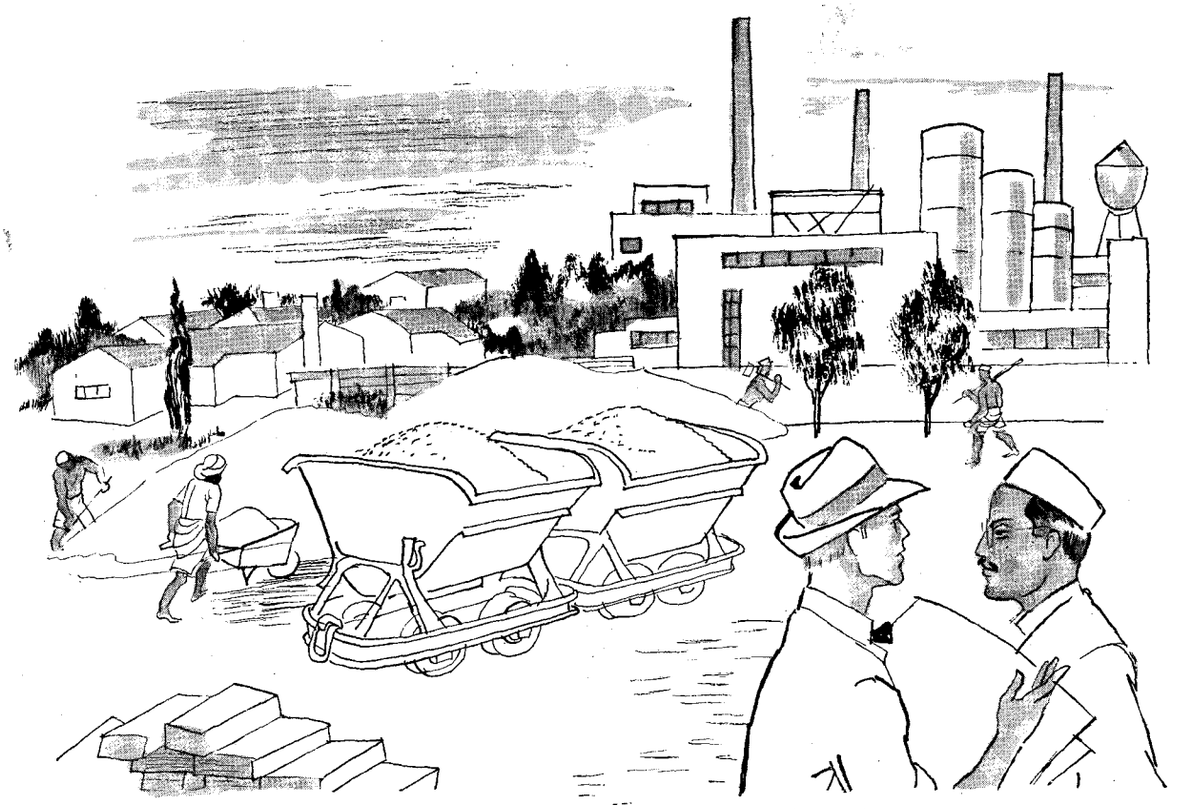
Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar of India, Chairman of Committee III-2 of the Economic and Social Council. He is eager to see India industrialized.

INDIA'S millions now suffer under miserable and outmoded living and working conditions . . .



THE INDIA OF THE FUTURE may know real prosperity under conditions of modern housing and industrialization.

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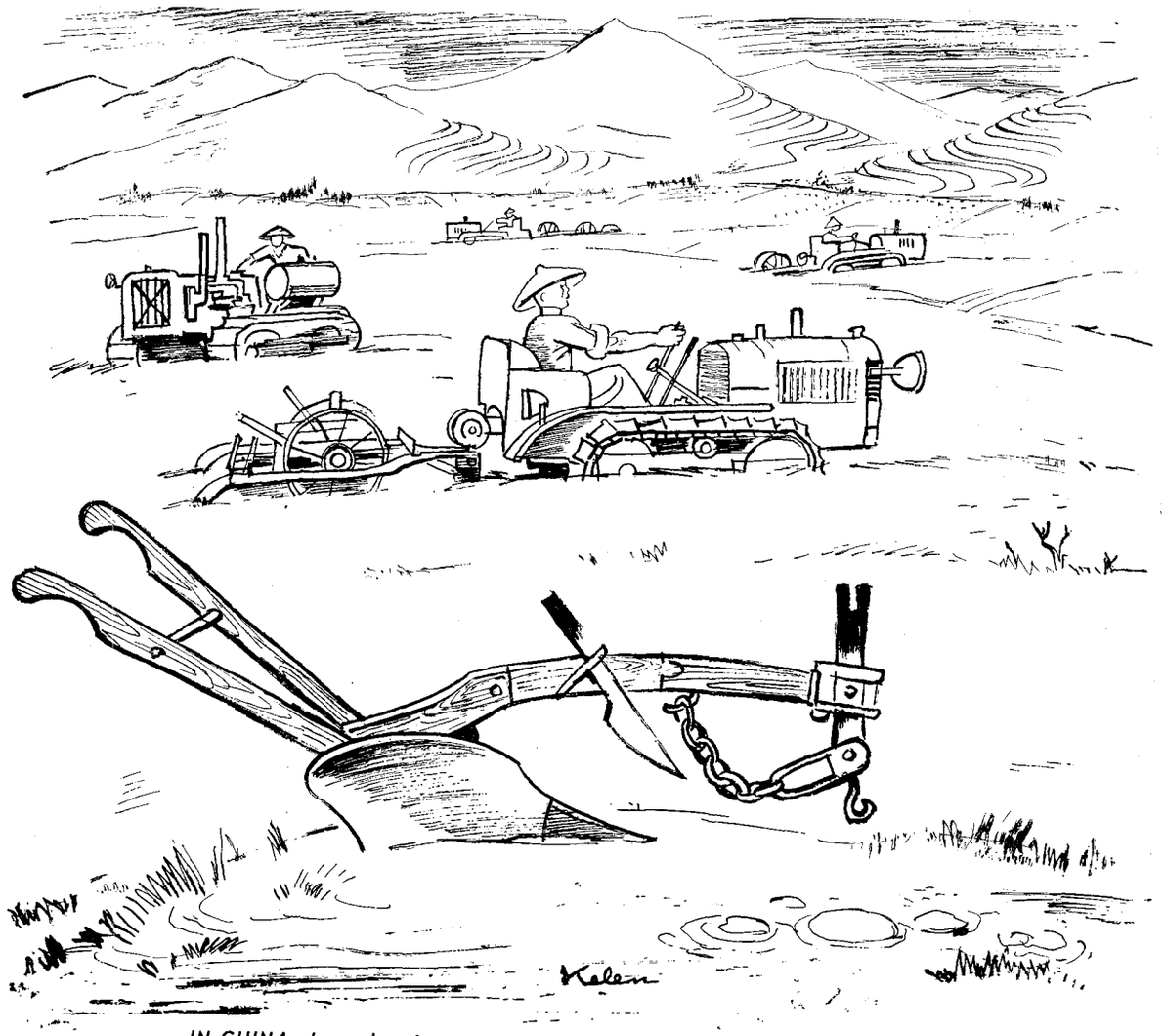
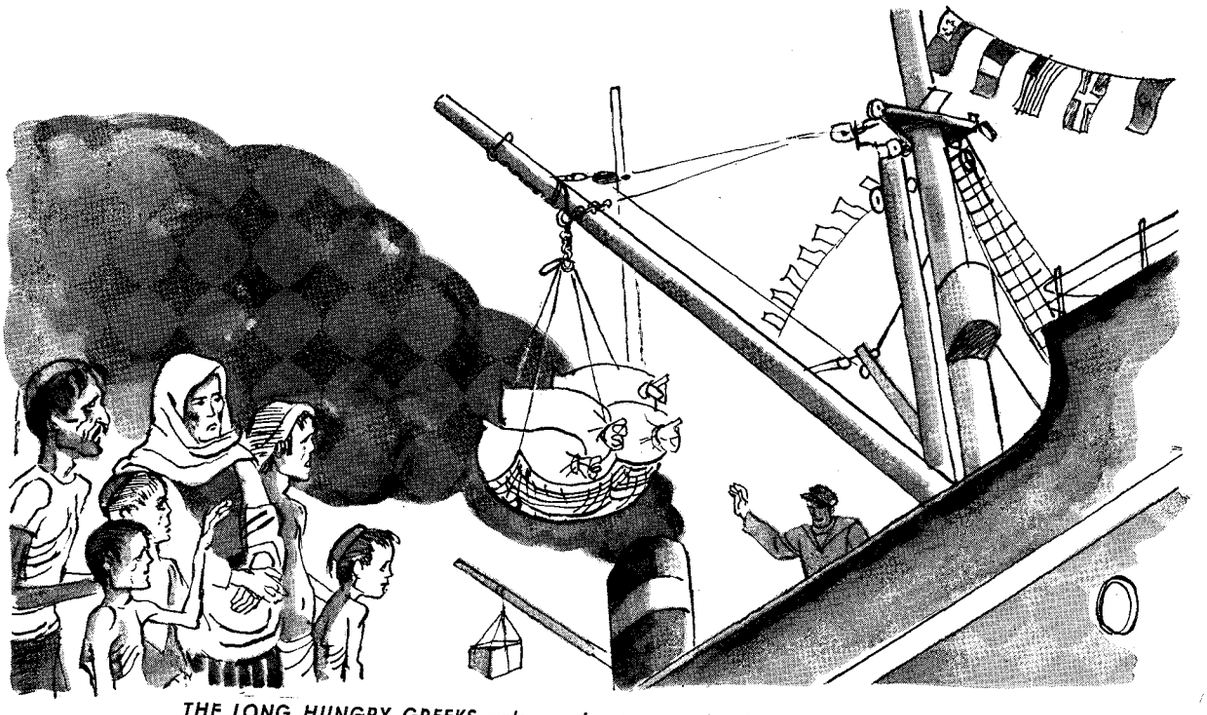


IN CHINA, the modern farm tractor moves in to replace the ancient wooden plow.



THE LONG HUNGRY GREEKS welcome the steamers that bring them abundant food.

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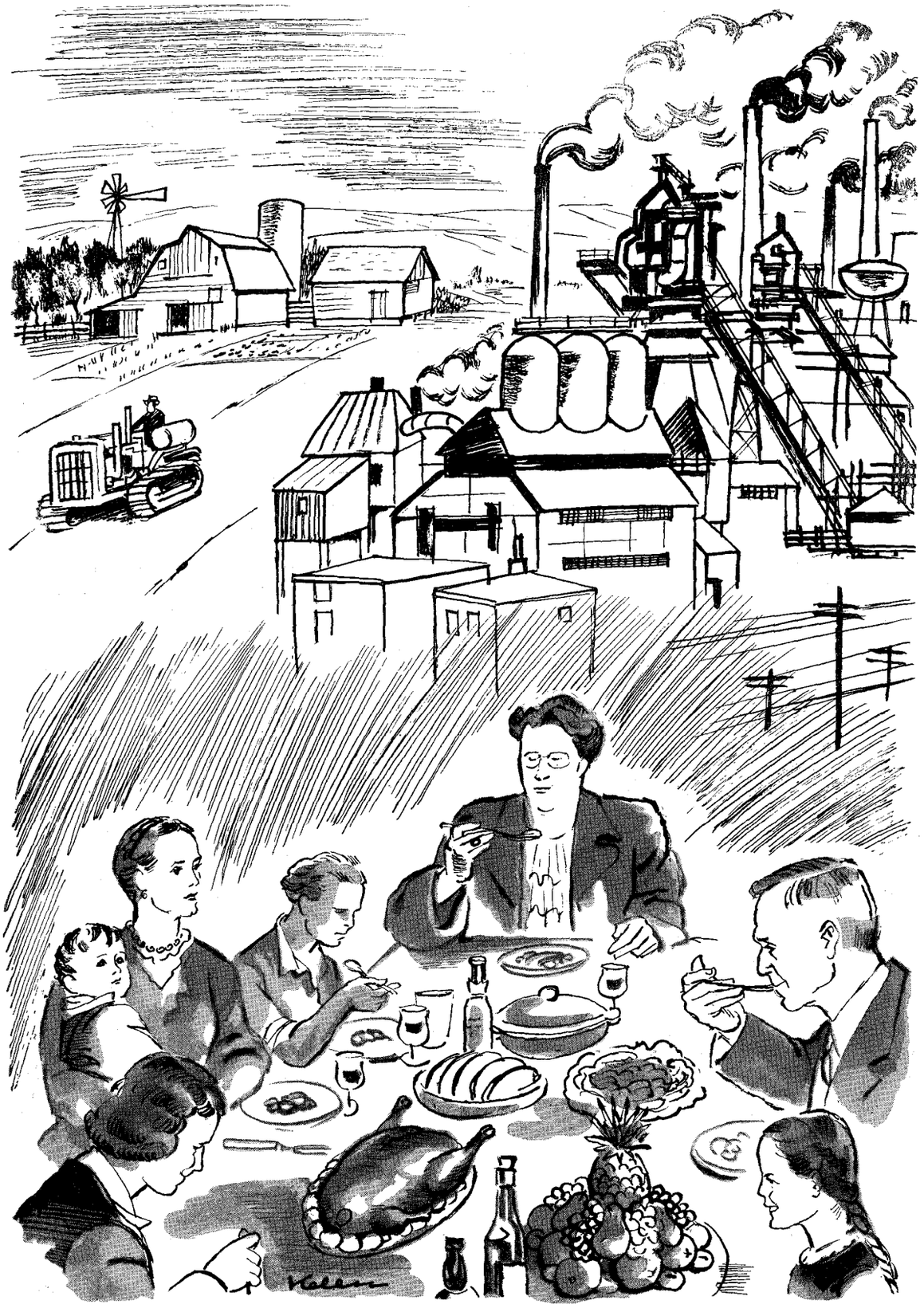

The Economic and Social Council can help bring full employment and prosperity to America too—as the reconstruction of war-torn or underdeveloped countries puts them in the market for our surplus farm and factory output.

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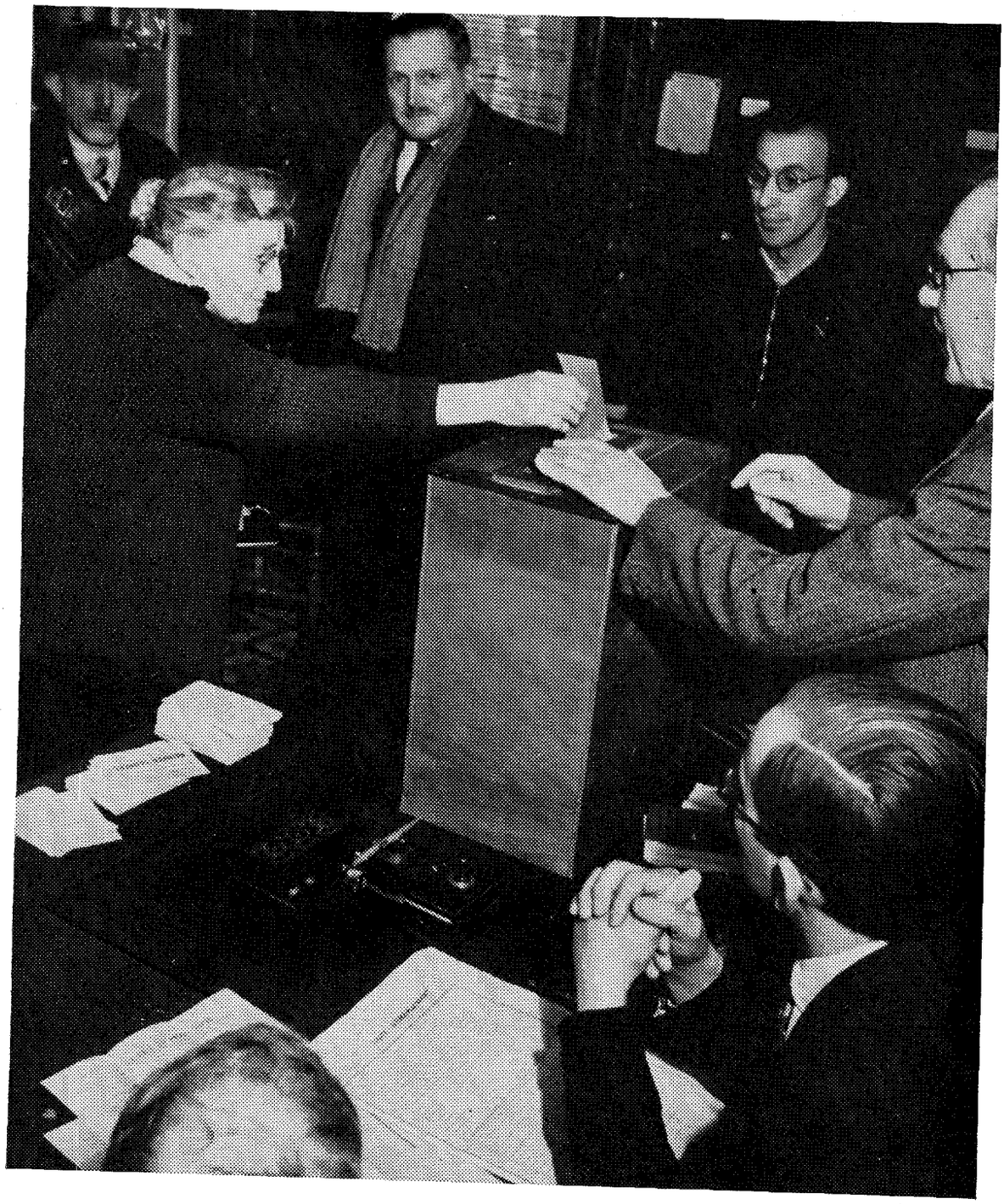

SOLIDARITY AND EQUALITY ARE THE GREAT NEW SLOGANS OF FRANCE. Among the many prejudices of which the new France is ridding herself is the one against the ability of women to participate in government. Here an elderly lady who saw her husband go off to World War I and her son to World War II casts her ballot for the first time. Contrary to all predictions the women's vote turned out to be as progressive as that of the male population. As a result 80 per cent of the Resistance representatives today control the municipal councils of France.

The Economic and Social Council of the new world organization will help France and all the other war-torn countries of Europe with the great task of reconstruction. While the Covenant of the old League was mainly concerned with problems of national independence, San Francisco has established instruments whose results will affect the people in their day by day lives. The people of France—both men and women—are turning to the work of rebuilding with a will.

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FRENCH CHILDREN WHOSE PARENTS WERE THE VICTIMS OF FASCISM. France regards their care as assignment No. 1. And for every child there are ten French families offering homes. Below, Parisians flock to the station with gifts, to greet returning prisoners and slave laborers. This man offers cherries. Too often the loved one does not return.

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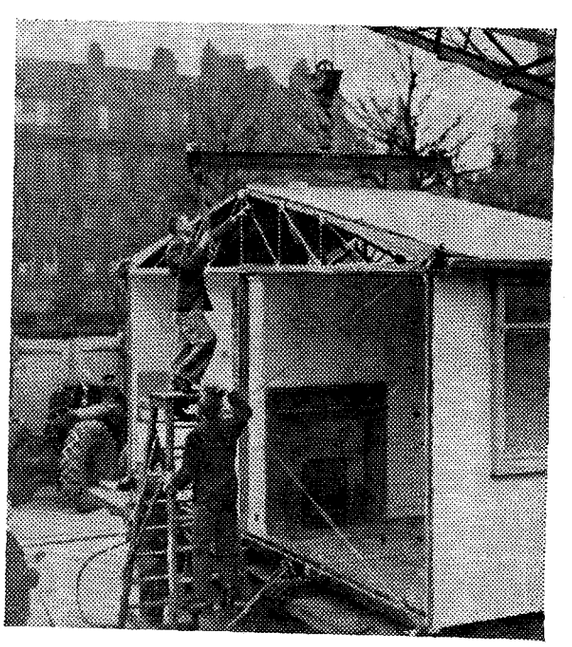
LITTLE MEASURES THAT HAVE SAVED ENGLAND. School authorities in Knighton-on-Thames organized local grown-ups and children as gardeners, agreed to buy their products. Results, 130 meals served daily to children. In London, the county council serves a thousand lunches daily in the 400-year-old Fishmongers' Hall (below left). London's homeless find temporary shelter in new aluminum houses. The lag in supplying pre-fabricated houses was a major election issue.



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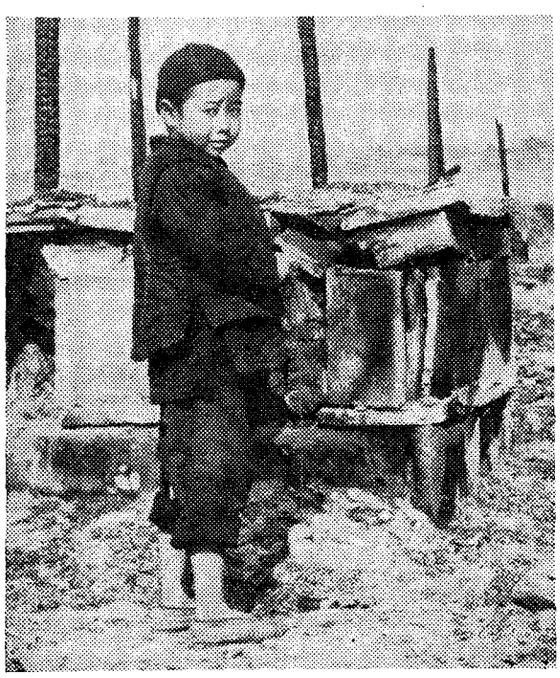
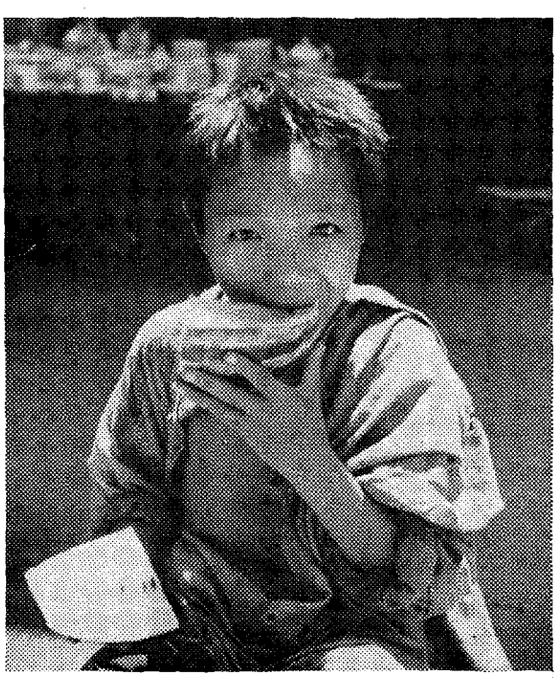
CHINA'S NEEDS ARE GREAT. They will only be fully met through the work of the new Economic and Social Council. Here an American transport plane drops supp ies near a Chinese village. Below are two of China's children, one beside his home ruined by the Japanese, the other happy because at last the invader has been thrust back.





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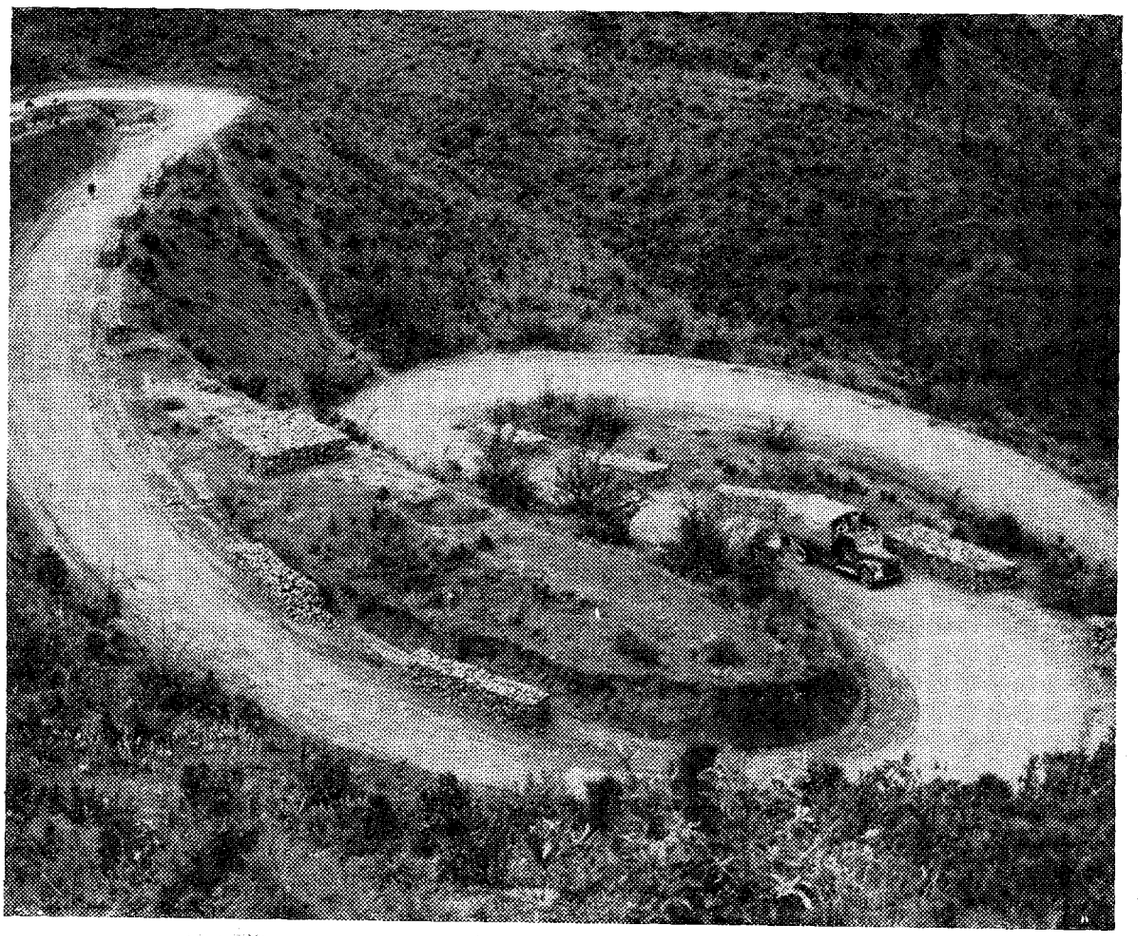
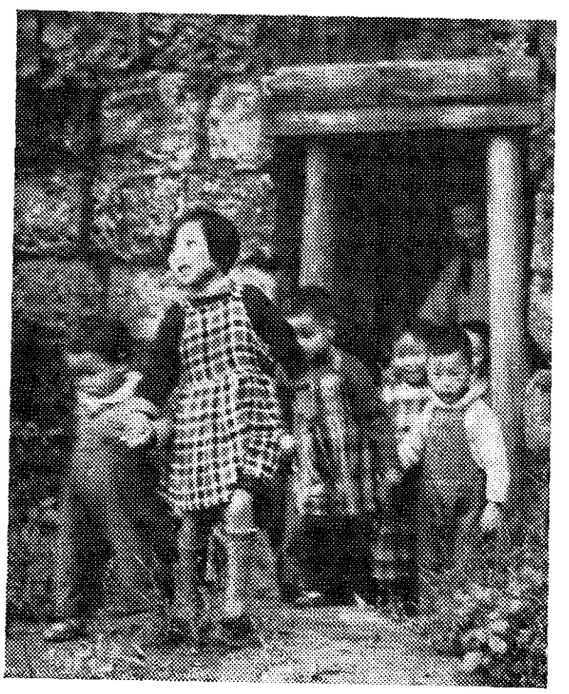
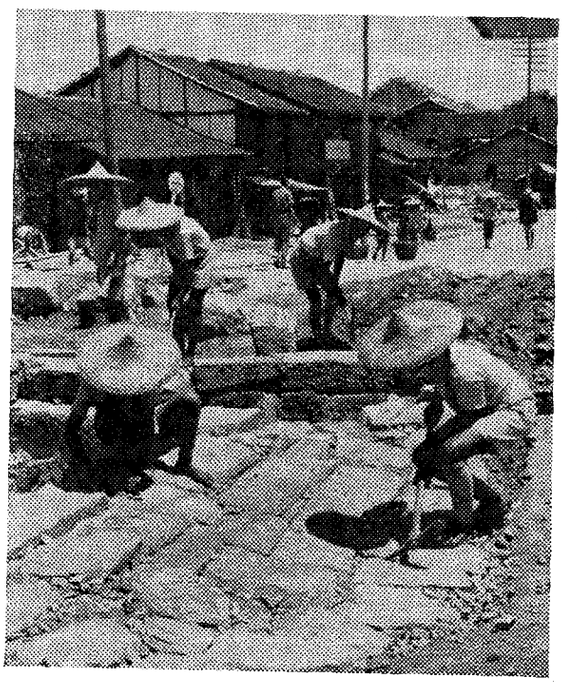


THE BURMA ROAD IS OPEN AGAIN. Over it travel war supplies for the Chinese, Chinese rice for the people of India.





NEW HOPE. Chinese tots emerge from an air raid shelter (left); Chinese villagers repair their war damaged street. The Chinese will not be satisfied until such scenes forever disappear.

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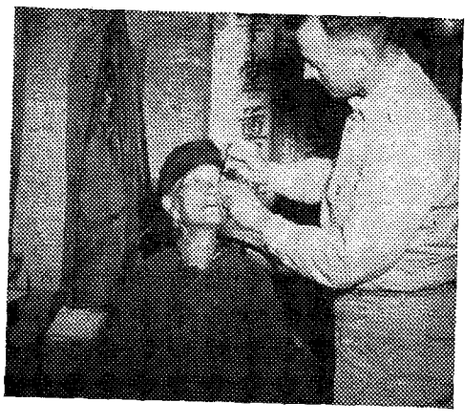
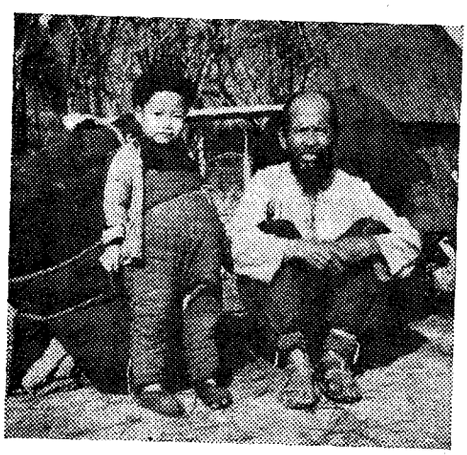


NEW HEALTH. An American doctor treats the sick close behind the combat lines.



MORE VILLAGES FREED. An aged Chinaman and his grandson (left) are on their way back to their home freed from the invader. News of new victories is big news to the Chinese (above right). Below is a scene in the heart of a little town where life is picking up again.

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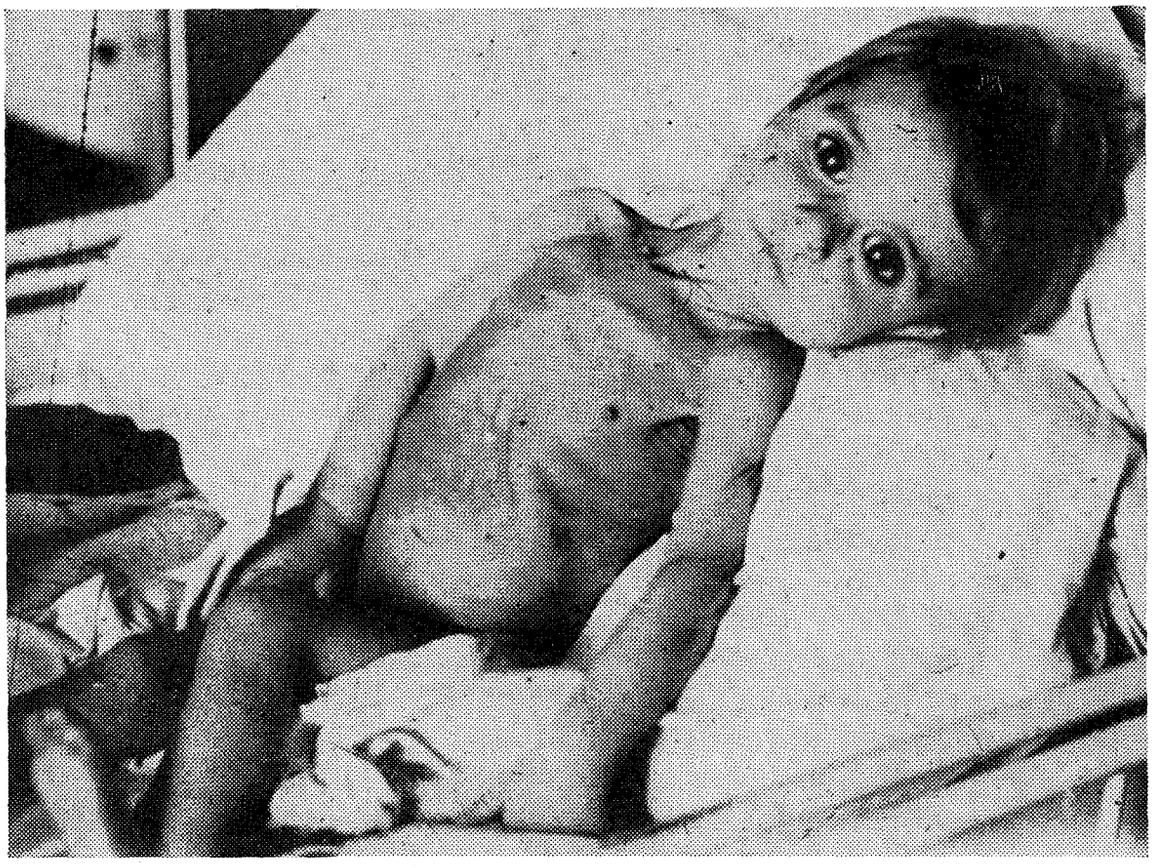

FOR THE NETHERLANDS RECONSTRUCTION MEANS FOOD, FIRST OF ALL. Let anyone who suggests cutting off food shipments to Europe study this picture of a starving Dutch child.

HOLLANDERS ARE HELPING ONE ANOTHER. On the left, food is delivered in boats to flooded homes. On the right, a scene in Amsterdam, where last winter the people had to tear up the ties of the trolley lines for fuel to fight the intense cold. This summer they are rebuilding.

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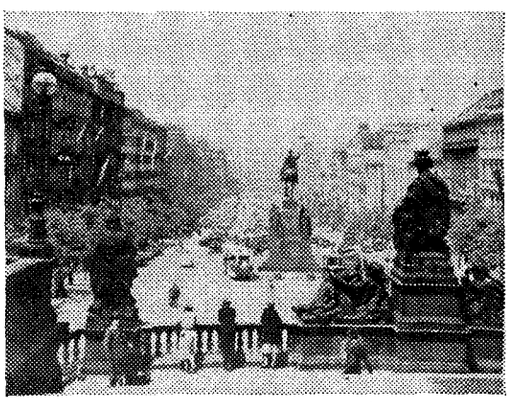
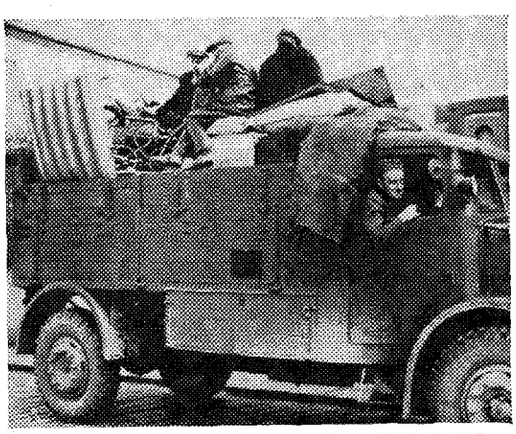
TO THE HUNGRY BREAD IS HOLY. Its distribution by soldiers in Czechoslovakia is almost like a religious rite. Homeless Czechoslovak children, like those on the left below, are cared for by Czech authorities.



PRAGUE LIVES AGAIN after more than six years of enslavement.



ARMY TRUCKS HELP TRANSPORT CZECH REFUGEES. Why not follow this example in dealing with displaced persons in Germany?

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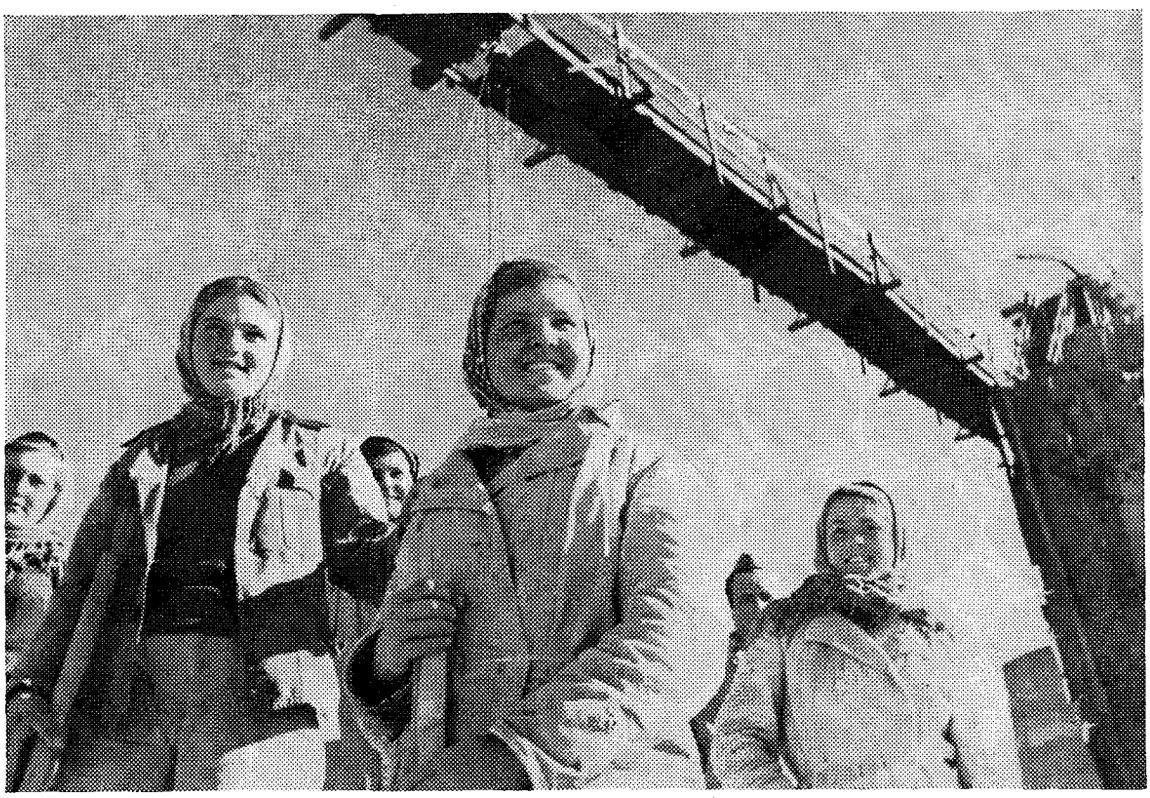

RUSSIA'S SLOGAN IS RECONSTRUCTION TOO. There is a victory smile on the faces of girl workers at the Dnieper Power Station. Below, the treasures of Russian art are brought out of hiding and hung again.

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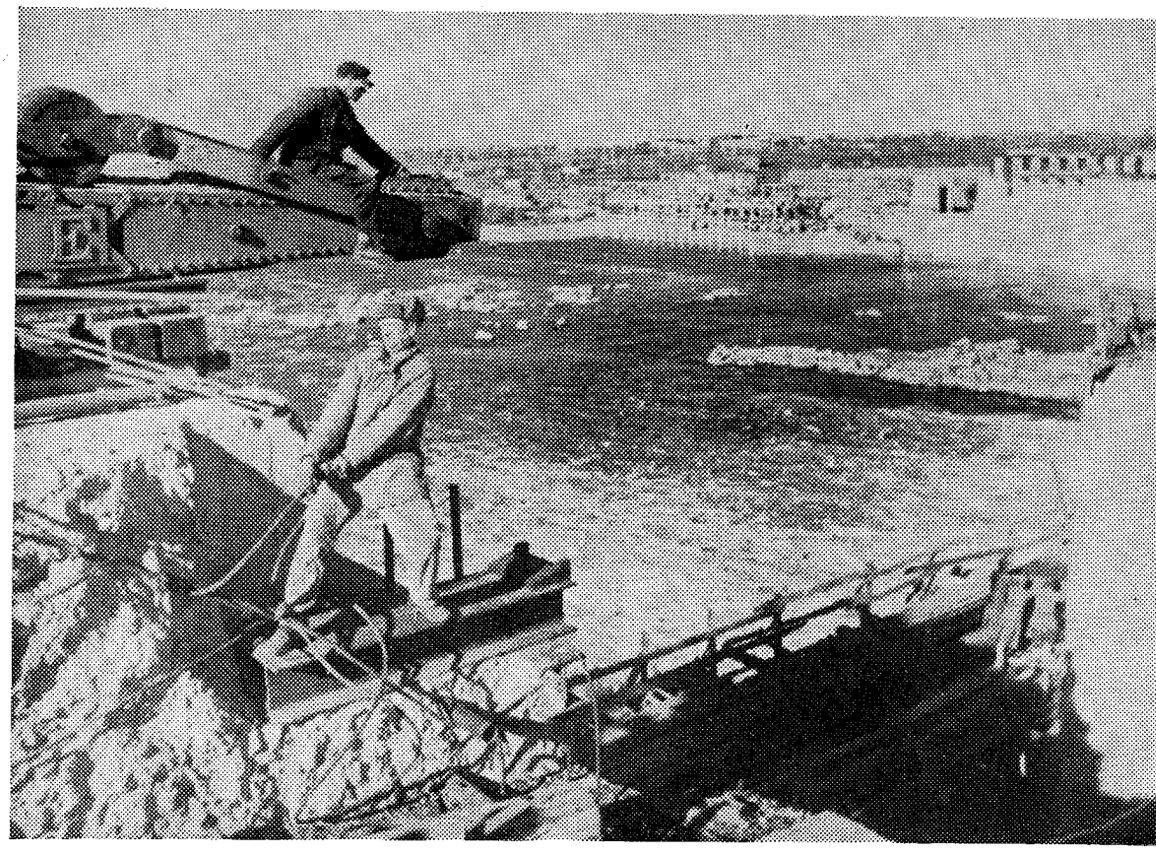
THE SAGA OF VILLAGERS RETURNING HOME. This story of victory's aftermath is being written in every part of Russia today.



THE RESTORATION OF THE DNIEPER DAM. Its repair and rebuilding is one of the great dreams of Russia now that the Nazis have been overcome. Here, workers are shown assembling a derrick crane at the great dam, which provides light and energy for homes, iron and steel mills, and the neighboring Donetz coal mines.

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Eight Years Of *Chinese Resistance*

BY
WELLINGTON LEE

China's Underground fighters are as determined, and as shrewd in their efforts to trip the enemy, as the famous Underground resisters of the countries of Europe that suffered the nazi tyranny. Everywhere, the plain people of China, with weapons or without them, are finding ways to wreak havoc on the hated enemy and to sabotage his war machine.

DURING a hot spell last summer an article in a Shanghai tabloid began with the following paragraph:

"The June sun is really fierce. Its rays are suffocating. With the exception of those who have electric fans at home, most people hate that scorching sun. Everybody is praying for the moon to appear at night because it gives a cool and comforting light."

Although this is a paragraph in a paper which Japanese can read, as well as Chinese, it is written in the language of China's great Resistance movement. Chinese readers throughout the Shanghai area know that there is a double meaning to the paragraph, and that double meaning gives them heart. It means that the Japanese are hated, that the resisters in occupied China are hoping for an early return of the Chinese army, and that those who are secretly resisting the enemy have the courage to say so in bold print.

The Underground Resistance movement in occupied China is one of the most heroic chapters of China's all-out war, which has been written by hundreds of thousands of unsung heroes. The immensity and details of the movement will never be known until the lost territories have been restored. One can only judge the movement by the individual stories which sift through to free China.

Last fall in Chungking I heard stories from travelers who had just come through guerrilla areas. I was particularly impressed by the many ingenious ways and means that the Partisans, confronted with the shortage of arms and matériel, have painstakingly devised in order to carry on their fight. Notable among them are land mines made of earthenware pots and jugs filled with black powder, wooden cannon carved out of hardwood logs, and the famous tunnel warfare.

The equipment and supply of the regular Chinese army are meagre enough, but much more so are those of the guerrillas. Two lines from a song of the guerrillas give an over-all description in a nutshell: "Nothing to eat, nothing to wear . . . (but don't worry) the enemy will soon send us some; no guns, no rifles . . . (but don't worry) the enemy is making them for us." Believe it or not, the Partisans secure a large part of their supply and equipment from the enemy by constant ambush and raids on his depots and transport vehicles.

The most famous guerrilla leader who has come into the limelight is a white-haired and wrinkle-faced old woman, Mrs. Chao, better known as the "Mother of Guerrillas." The aged matron, after the fall of North China in the early stage of the war, organized a guerrilla band with her own family as a nucleus, including her two sons, one daughter and one daughter-in-law. Humble-looking and seemingly harmless, she moved back and forth between occupied territory and free China on her furtive errands without rousing the least suspicion. In a few years she had gathered a tremendous following which

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presented a formidable threat to the enemy. Though well over seventy, she toured the major cities in free China in an extensive fund campaign last year. Dollars rolled in by the millions wherever she appeared at a public rally.

Patriot Family

THE Liaos of Hsiangyin in Hunan province are another outstanding family of patriots. Ever since the fall of his native town in 1939, Liao Lien-kao, 61-year-old veteran revolutionist, has been leading a guerrilla force to fight the Japs. His 59-year-old wife heads a women's service corps to help the Chinese army. Eight of their thirteen children, including a girl, joined the armed forces. Two of them have been killed. Po-chu, their fourth son, was fatally wounded in a battle in Shantung in 1938, his body studded with nine bullets. He lived only a short time, but long enough to write, with his own blood, four big Chinese characters which mean "We must annihilate the enemy."

Several childhood friends of the present writer, who went Underground soon after the fall of their native town of Wusih in Kiangsu province, have been killed. One boy named Tu, the toughest boy and dullest student in my hometown primary school twenty years ago, was wounded during a night raid on an enemy outpost. When the pursuing Japs found him lying by the roadside, they ripped his belly open with a bayonet and went away. But he was still alive. He bandaged his ripped belly with his leg bands and crawled more than one mile to reach a village where he reported to his chief and breathed his last.

Many of the railroad workers evacuated from the occupied areas are organized into what is called "destruction corps" under the control of the Ministry of Service and Supply (equivalent to the United States S.O.S.). The men disguise themselves as laborers and peddlers or join the Japanese-operated railroads. While carrying on their peaceful work in daytime, they sneak out at night to perform their destructive missions. They are experts in laying land mines, blowing up bridges, cutting telephone and telegraph wires, but their specialty is derailing. To loosen the screws on the rail for a stretch of a few meters on a dark night is a simple matter to these experienced men, and that is all that is necessary to derail a train. That's why there have been so many railroad "accidents" on enemy-operated lines during the past eight years.

In the early days of the enemy occupation of Hankow, largest city on mid-Yangtze, fires in Japanese army depots and enemy-operated factories were almost daily occurrences. The people of Hupeh province, in which Hankow is located, find their favorite sport in sabotage and incendiarism that plays havoc with Jap supplies and production.

Assassinations are most frequent in Shanghai. Even members of secret societies, who once were Public Enemy No. 1, now turn their ugly weapons against the invaders and their puppets. There are reasons to believe that they hate the traitors more than they do the Japs, since far more traitors and puppet officials have been killed than Japs.

Not all Underground activities are destructive. I know of at least one constructive mission in occupied China, and that is education. Many of the members of the Department of Education of the Shanghai municipal government remained there, after the fall of the city, to carry on their educational work. Through these courageous men, the hundreds of colleges and schools in Shanghai continue to receive subsidy from the central government.

Financial aid is also extended to private institutions which find it difficult to carry on. These educational workers, whenever circumstances permit, hold secret meetings with the teachers and students to bolster their morale and strengthen their confidence in allied victory. It is also through their services that tens of thousands of teachers and students are able to come into free China.

Constant Peril from Japs

THESE educational workers carry on their activities in Shanghai at the daily risk of their lives. A good many have been arrested by enemy special service agents.

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A certain Chiang, not related to the Generalissimo, was one of the leaders and stayed in occupied Shanghai for four years. He is now in the United States, attending Teachers' College of Columbia University in New York City. Once, when he was leaving a school after a secret meeting with the teachers and students there, he was fired on by two men. He escaped unscathed by jumping onto a passing car. Not infrequently he had to flee his Japanese pursuers several times during a single night.

The continued operation of the provincial and district governments in occupied areas is really a remarkable undertaking. The members of these governments play a continuous hide and seek game with the Japanese. They may be fittingly called "hit and run governments." Yet, in spite of their precarious situation, they manage to perform most of their normal functions. They collect the tax, administer justice, supply and direct the guerrillas, and help the regular army in its operations.

A very live menace to Japan is the Underground press of occupied China. Newspaper men risk their lives to put out the secret papers. News boys risk their lives to distribute them. By means of secret radio equipment, communication is maintained between Chungking and occupied China. It is a hazardous undertaking. Five correspondents of the Central News Agency working behind enemy lines have been killed and seven more have been arrested.

A high tribute must be paid the large masses of peasantry in the vast countryside of China. They live on doggedly, giving everything they have to help the guerrillas, and offering whatever is needed to facilitate the functioning of government agencies and military operations. Their sacrifices have been extremely heavy. Not infrequently a whole village is slaughtered by the Japs because some "accident" has occurred in its vicinity. But these people are patient, as peasants always are. The entire population in occupied China is looking forward to victory with confidence.

A humerous note is provided by the story of a certain Chinese merchant who has invested his whole fortune in firecrackers. "When the allied troops march into occupied China one of these fine days," he says, "everyone will buy firecrackers to celebrate the great victory."

Undoubtedly, he is right.

Many New Features Next Month

The September issue of FREE WORLD will carry an unusual number of articles and features by outstanding writers. Kent Cooper, president of the Associated Press, will discuss the topic "Where Does Freedom of the Press Stand After San Francisco?" The article on the functioning of the Economic and Social Council by Oscar Cox, deputy director of the Foreign Economic Administration, previously announced for August, was postponed to September in order to give more time to complete the study. Senator Alexander Wiley, Wisconsin, will write on "A Peace Department for the American Government." Max Mandellaub has an article on "Fascists Still at Work in Occupied Europe." The September issue will also begin a variety of popular features on world literature, art, entertainment and travel.

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The Japanese Press

BY

HARRY EMERSON WILDES

After victory we will face the task of winning the Japanese people to an understanding of democracy. For this we must use the mighty influence of the already established Japanese press. This article analyzes Japanese newspapers from the standpoint of their value as a resource for this work in the postwar period.

WHEN the Japanese eventually decide to "come with us"—the new face-saving phrase for their unconditional surrender – two vital objectives will still lie ahead of us: the security of American occupation and the destruction of Japanese militarism.

Attainment of either or both these objectives can only be accomplished through planned re-education of the Japanese people, imbuing them with ideals of democracy and teaching them its techniques. The best medium for such re-education will be the Japanese press itself—a press firmly controlled against authoritarian, anti-democratic and enslaving untruths of the sort that have been spread by their militarist clique – but otherwise free and competitive in bringing to the Japanese people an understanding of the neighborly world in which they must learn to live.

The native Japanese press will be a far better tool for re-education of Japan than any American-made propaganda, however well and sincerely devised. All the same, the task of guiding this Japanese press toward ideals of freedom, and of making it ready to accept the responsibilities of a free press, will be complex and challenging in the years immediately following the war's end. Occupation cannot, without grave consequences, uproot a complex culture to introduce new, revolutionary methods overnight.

Japan now has a censorship that was imposed upon it years ago when the press was young. In a nation without a tradition of freedom, under submission for centuries, accustomed to accept authority without questioning, the press could not immediately be trusted to walk alone. Never in all Japan's history has the press been free: to grant that independence without sufficient preparation would be to invite disaster.

Such, indeed, has been Japanese experience. The Constitution of 1890 granted freedom "within the limits of law," but even that restricted independence was in advance of the time and was whittled away, first by legislation forbidding any impeachment of dignity of the Imperial House—later, by extension, of any other royal line —and then by the rights of the Foreign Office, the War and Navy Departments, the Home Office and the Finance Ministry to interdict news deemed undesirable by them. In wartime, moreover, special Imperial ordinances, as in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, the Russo-Japanese conflict, the China Incident and the two World Wars, still further narrowed the freedom of the press.

Japanese editors, therefore, are well accustomed to control; if American occupation officers do nothing more than continue the formal laws now in effect, the newspapermen will have no valid ground for criticism.

Even more than by formal law, however,

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the journalists have been controlled. Through interpretation, governmental agencies have tightened and have extended their hold upon the press. Few Japanese editors would dream of challenging the prestige of the Imperial House but none of them would have guessed that criticizing the uniform of an ancient general would come under such a category, yet, a few years ago, Ken Kikuchi, one of Japan's most popular writers, fell into disfavor for so doing. Since, it was explained, the general was an Imperial officer any comment unfavorable to his attire was a direct rebuke to the Emperor whose uniform he wore and, as such, derogatory to the Throne! No caricature of the Emperor could be tolerated, nor any cartoon, favorable or unfavorable; even a printing accident that blurred the Imperial portrait was regarded as a sin unforgiveable.

Such interpretations can now be turned to the Occupation's advantage. Surely no Japanese who has been accustomed to rigid regulation of the press would deny the justice of preventing insults to the new administrators.

Tokyo Asahi was once suspended for approving Baroness Shizue Sugimoto's campaign for birth control, but the sensational *Yorodzu,* having outgrown its adolescent socialism, ran with impunity a startling series on the sex lives of the 493 most prominent Tokyo leaders; it described in lurid detail the successful seduction methods employed by a famous premier, with names and addresses of his conquests.

Egg-Hatching Journalism

FRIENDLY relations with foreign powers are essential and, under certain circumstances it might be desirable to prevent publication of news that might disturb such friendships. The Foreign Office has, at frequent intervals, interdicted the spread of such items. It has permitted the press to conduct violent anti-alien agitations, to refer to the United States, in time of peace, as "the world's worst enemy," to refer to an ambassador as "His Excellency, the Damned Fool," and to caricature Christ upon the Cross, as did a certain Tokyo comic paper.

It is possible that American journals might learn valuable pointers from Japanese experience. Tokyo and Osaka papers have been encyclopaedic in their interests. Not only have the Big Three—*Asahi, Mainichi* and *Yomiuri-Hochi*—promoted ball games, track meets, air flights and wrestling matches, but they have staged round table discussions, lectures, concerts and exhibitions; *Asahi* sponsored the first trans-Pacific and first trans-Asiatic aviation and organized the Imperial Aviation Society while *Mainichi* sent out scientific expeditions to prospect for oil in Saghalien, to study ocean currents and to report on meteorological conditions.

Social Values

SUCH connections might have made Japanese dailies well rounded and of extraordinary social value but the editors have not measured up to their opportunities.

There is a strange reluctance, no doubt due to fear of censorship, to press reforms even when the editors dare to advocate such changes. The *Tokyo Asahi* printed forthright editorials against militarism, pointing particularly to Japanese adventures on the Asiatic mainland, but, after ruffians assaulted its seventy year old editor, Ryuhei Murayama, the paper apologized and fired the men who had written the offending passages.

Virtually the entire press complains about the censorship but none dares take the lead, even in peace times, for abolishing, or even ameliorating its operation.

Even Japanese publicists admit the low grade of reporters and editors. "A Japanese newspaperman," said Yukio Ozaki, "is a moral parasite;" "It is easier," added Dr. Kazutami Ukita, "to find a moral burglar than a moral newspaperman."

No doubt, much of the explanation is to be discovered in the extraordinarily low salaries paid even to expert newspapermen. The base pay for a war correspondent in the present war is somewhere between 110 and 170 yen monthly, an amount equal in normal times to between $60 and $80, but, with the yen in its depreciated state, worth but a fraction even of those low sums. In Tokyo and Osaka, where salaries are higher than elsewhere in Japan, pay ranges between 75 and 300 yen

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monthly. In order to exist, therefore, reporters either engage in other work as a lucrative sideline or accept retainers from business men and politicians. Not long ago the Tokyo Gas Company alone was reported to be paying 88,000 yen yearly in subsidies to newspapermen and this is but one of a number of companies which sought successfully to buy favorable publicity.

But not only the writers have been purchased; many of the dailies have themselves been kept alive by payments for their services. *Tokyo Nichi Nichi,* oldest of the present papers, was begun as a government organ, as was *Hochi,* the former to represent the Council of State and the latter to echo the opinions of the Post Office; each received a sizeable subsidy.

Various political adventurers, anxious to develop public opinion in their favor, spent large sums to buy editorial support. Marquis Shigenobu Okuma and Prince Hirobumi Ito were perhaps the most lavish; the former, according to Tokyo gossip, supporting eight journals, including at one time *Hochi* and the violently nationalistic *Kokumin,* and the latter paying the bills of *Nichi Nichi, Chuo* and *Jimmin.* When these two gentlemen quarreled and their partisans alternated in political control, the censor's hands fell heavily on the vanquished.

With the passing of politics and the emergence of a one-party system, Japan no longer has need for papers that angle for votes. The press has passed from control by politicians, but industrial interests have stepped in to dominate the editors. This tendency began in 1882 when Yukichi Fukuzawa, Japan's Great Commoner, founded *Jiji Shimpo,* the Times, to promote his principles of independence and self-respect through editorials "dealing with the universe." As might have been expected the paper was tedious and verbose, but it gained a reputation for integrity and its influence grew. Fukuzawa pleaded for big business and for laissez-faire economy; *Jiji* was scrupulously fair in its attitude toward aliens and even tried to explain the reasons for American immigration policies. After Fukuzawa's death, however, the paper languished and, December 1936, was sold to *Nichi Nichi.*

Zaibatsu influences appear at their worst when *Osaka Mainichi,* founded in 1883 by Hikoichi Motoyama, general manager of a contracting firm subsidiary to Mitsubishi is examined. Motoyama, one of the great names in Japanese journalism, edited the sheet for almost fifty years. Although politically independent in theory, he leaned to Okuma's Minseito group that was presumably liberal and that demanded overseas expansion for the benefit of trade, manufacturing and shipping. This would have given the *Mainichi* a naval rather than an army slant but it compensated by taking a strong jingoistic and anti-foreign attitude. Motoyama's *Mainichi,* in consequence, was often bitterly unfair toward aliens; the foreigners resident in Japan detested it. Unhappy when it bought the *Tokyo Nichi Nichi,* also a Mitsubishi sheet, in 1910, they were dismayed when *Jiji* fell into its clutches. *Mainichi's* editor, Shigoro Takaishi, holds a violent anti-American prejudice.

Less influential as a general newspaper but of great importance in the financial world, *Chugai Shogyo,* a Mitsui organ, wields great influence. Edited by Tokichi Tanaka, former ambassador to Moscow and later head of Domei news agency, it radiates reaction and conservatism.

Japanese "Reformers"

THE stories of *Hochi* and *Yomiuri,* each of which has already been mentioned as liberal at their birth, demonstrate the tragedy that has stalked Japanese reformers. The former, during its better days, fought hard for a national assembly and its editors went to jail for their temerity. Nevertheless the movement for a parliament succeeded, and though the Diet became little better than a futile debating society, *Hochi* won much credit.

Yomiuri has tried its utmost to avoid either official or Zaibatsu domination but has always stubbed its toes. Begun by Seiko Motono in 1873 with the best intentions, it refused a government subsidy and so was pushed into a position where it could print only literary and cultural notes. But Motono's son fell victim to ambition and because the boy wanted to enter diplomacy the father swung *Yomiuri* into

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line. The experiment was none too happy; young Motono climbed to become ambassador to France and to Russia, but the paper could not be content with merely conservative editorials. It went *Kokumin* one better by demanding that Japan buy not only the Philippines, but also the Ladrones, including Guam, but then it went off into a dangerous tangent by attacking the clan system. This unconventionality cost it dearly.

Its great days were yet to come. *Yomiuri* never made money and in due course the Motono interests sold the paper to a syndicate of twenty millionaires. These included such powerful tycoons as Viscount Eichi Shibusawa, long president of the Chamber of Commerce and professional friend of America, Baron Kihachiro Okura, one of the Big Five contractors, Baron Seinosuke Go, a Heidelberg Ph.D., who was head of All-Japan Federation of Commerce and Industry and who liked to be called Japan's Andrew Mellon, Ginjiro Fujiwara, the electrical king, and Count Yorihara Matsudaira whose court connections were unimpeachable. These persons of frightening eminence put up a fund of a million yen and gave *Chujiro Matsuyama,* formerly of *Tokyo Asahi,* a free hand.

The set-up was a newspaperman's dream, all the money he could ask and no supervision. Matsuyama must have thought he was in paradise. To the dismay of his wealthy backers, Matsuyama made *Yomiuri* a liberal journal. First of all he hammered the censorship and cast invective on the militarists, which was acceptable enough to his Zaibatsu friends, but then he warred on bureaucrats, denounced bribery in politics, demanded home rule for Korea and Formosa, and, to everyone's astonishment, protested against the dirt that passes for local news in Tokyo. Even this might have been acceptable, though his millionaire backers felt uneasy, but when he bared scandals in railway administration the end had come. Shinya Uchida, one of his backers, was particularly concerned in these matters and he made matters so hot for Matsuyama that in 1924 the editor had to quit.

Matsutaro Shoriki, ex-chief of detectives and son-in-law of the Metropolitan Police Director, succeeded Matsuyama. Shoriki had neither the experience nor the integrity of Matsuyama and so, when Baron Go insisted that *Yomiuri* shift its support to the Seiyuhonto party, Shoriki agreed. But the rest of the staff unanimously dissented; trained in the Matsuyama school of liberalism, they had no stomach for big business politics. Every man resigned at once, leaving Shoriki alone in the office.

And then, as his reward, Shoriki suffered for the deeds of Matsuyama. A young ruffian patriot, indignant because Matsuyama had brought Babe Ruth over to Japan to show the Nipponese how to belt homers, stabbed Shoriki in the body. "Thus," the ruffian explained, "I have avenged the honor of Japan."

The reasoning was by no means clear to anyone but the thug, but the incident explains why, years later, when Japanese troops charged an American position on Guadalcanal they rushed forward yelling "To hell with Babe Ruth."

In 1944, because of mutual hard luck and because of paper shortages, *Yomiuri* and *Hochi* merged.

Yomiuri-Hochi's brief splurge into liberalism is still fresh in the popular mind. True, it has, as has every other newspaper in the Empire, played the totalitarian-militaristic game in recent years, nor could any other policy have been expected, but *Yomiuri-Hochi* may, without too great a wrench, again become transformed into a progressive daily.

Semblance of Liberalism

So, too, may the *Asahi* twins be salvaged for American purposes. Latterly both newspapers have been army dominated and during the war they have been super-patriotic, but their record has been studded with independence. When Ryuhei Murayama bought the four-year old *Osaka Asahi* in 1883 and, five years later, founded its sister sheet, *Tokyo Asahi,* he intended them to be liberal, independent and aggressively opposed to evil influence. Murayama's papers were the first to report adequately the sessions of the Diet. They scooped the world on the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War, they fought the censors vigorously and in striking contrast to

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their rivals of the *Mainichi* group, they usually kept their heads in anti-foreign agitations.

Murayama ran foul of the authorities several times. When he printed full details of the rice riots of 1918 he was forbidden to publish for a three weeks' period.

The *Osaka Asahi* shut down, in obedience to the law, but Murayama protested and the eighty year old editor was promptly hauled into court on the charge of disturbing public peace. While he was on his way to attend the long drawn out secret hearings that ensued, seven young ruffians clubbed him into insensibility because, they said, he had, by objecting to Japanese occupation of Siberia, violated the Empire's traditional policy. They were arrested, but because they had acted through patriotic motives, were released without punishment.

Murayama, however, on recovering from the assault, was compelled to renounce his liberal views, to publish in *Osaka Asahi* a public apology for his actions, to announce his complete forgiveness of his assailants, and to dismiss nine members of the *Osaka Asahi* staff who were accused of favoring liberal views.

One of these, Chujiro Matsuyama, was the man who gave *Yomiuri* its brief whirl of nonconformity; another, Teruo "Sosem" Torii, joined with Bunji Suzuki, the labor leader, and Toyochiko Kagawa, social reformer, to establish the short-lived *Taisho Nichi Nichi,* a radical labor sheet. Both *Osaka Asahi* and *Osaka Mainichi,* however, ganged up on the newcomer and, by refusing to accept advertisements from any business people patronizing *Taisho Nichi Nichi,* as well as by monopolizing all telephone communications during the hours prior to the paper's deadline, they killed the venture.

The tactics used by *Osaka Asahi* in fighting *Taisho Nichi Nichi* disgusted its Tokyo sister, which issued a manifesto condemning the Osaka paper for its "craven attitude" toward "the belated ideas of militarists and bureaucrats." Needless to say, the men responsible for this untactful outburst, twenty-four in number and comprising the entire political and economics staff of the *Tokyo Asahi,* resigned en masse.

Later it was disclosed that one of the most vehement of the twenty-four rebels was a secret agent of the government.

Whatever may have been the inside history of these events, the fact remains that the *Asahis* toned down considerably thereafter. Murayama, feeble and broken in his old age, retired from active editorship and his successors, Seichi Ueno and Masumi Shimada of *Osaka Asahi* and Kotaro Sugimura of the Tokyo paper, conformed to the reactionary pattern. Their one unconventionality was a frequent reference to the canned gravel that Baron Okura sold the troops for food during the Russo-Japanese War. Just prior to Pearl Harbor, Shimada clamored for the emancipation of all East Asia from the shackles which, he said, had been rivited by white imperialists.

Continuance of these papers, and of *Yomiuri-Hochi,* under strict American supervision can serve the occupation well. No other journals are available, for, unless one goes back all the way to the early days of the century when *Niroku* launched virulent attacks upon the Mitsuis and urged a peace program during the Russo-Japanese War, there have been no other papers even remotely allied to democratic ideals. *Niroku,* of course, died suddenly and its editors were brought to court on charges of espionage; few Japanese in these days have even heard of it.

They do know the *Asahis* and *Yomiuri-Hochi,* and, if editors of sufficient trustworthiness can be found to head the papers, the populace will accept such information as the journals print. No newly established organ, set up either by the Psychological Warfare Division of the Army or by the OWI can hope to attain the following that the *Asahis* and *Yomiuri-Hochi* command.

By supporting two newspapers, moreover, and allowing a mild degree of diversity of treatment, the taint of dictated news may seem, at least superficially, to have been removed from the press. The information will, of course, be official in every instance, nor will the editors be free to comment as they will, but, as these papers circulate through the Empire, there will be a semblance of competition and of freedom. The buying public is sufficiently large to support two journals.

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Nation-Wide

American Opinion Poll

During the war period the United States policy of lend-lease turned out to have inestimable advantages, for us as well as for the other nations at war against the axis. Briefly, that policy meant that we have lent or leased to our Allies, for the war period, whatever we could spare and which they needed for the prosecution of the war. Maybe it was destroyers to Britain, cannon to France, machine tools, trucks, jeeps or medical supplies to Russia.

The Allies were not asked, as in World War I, to sign I.O.U.'s to Uncle Sam for billions of dollars. Instead, the lend-lease arrangement provided that they might repay us during or after the war period, in a commodity or service we required of them and that they might return lend-lease materiel still in good condition at the war's end.

Thus we have had bases furnished and equipped by the British, transportation for our troops on steamers such as the Queen Elizabeth and Queen Mary; the use of hospitals and army barracks and railroad facilities on the Continent of Europe; and from Russia—as indeed from the others—the unstinting expenditure of men's lives in making use of our war materiel, resulting in an incalculable saving of young American lives.

Should such a lend-lease arrangement continue into the postwar period, for the reconstruction years, in which our Allies may need assistance in rebuilding their homes and cities, what effect would it have on employment in the U. S. A.? That is the question asked in this poll and it is significant that more than half of the rank and file of Americans answer that it would mean more jobs.

The Americans who see advantage in lend-lease doubtless have in mind that prosperity and full employment in this country after the war will depend at least in part on selling our products abroad—and that unless the other nations are helped to get on their feet they may not make very good customers. Interest in the welfare of all is the highest form of self interest. That was the meaning of San Francisco.

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THE QUESTION

If our government keeps on sending lend-lease materials, which we may not get paid for, to friendly countries for about three years after the war, do you think this will mean more jobs or fewer jobs for most Americans, or won't it make any difference?

The Answers:

57%	**MORE JOBS for Americans will result from continuing lend-lease for three years after the war.**
10%	**FEWER JOBS for Americans will result from such a continuation of lend-lease.**
18%	**IT WILL MAKE NO DIFFERENCE in jobs for Americans whether we do or don't continue lend-lease after the war.**
15%	**DON'T KNOW what difference continuing or not would make.**

Analysis of the Poll Results

When answers to the question are analyzed in terms of various population groups, no great differences occur. Men and women of every age group, economic level and section of the country give a large plurality to the answer, "More jobs will result." As might be expected on a question involving economics, the "don't know" vote is fairly large, particularly among Negroes, service workers, the lower income groups and the less educated. Significantly, farmers, normally a conservative group, appreciate the importance of a continuation of lend-lease to our economy more than the population as a whole, voting overwhelmingly that the result would be more jobs. Sixty per cent of the farmers take this view, and only 6 per cent express the opinion that fewer jobs would result.

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Comments on the Poll

COMMENTS of persons in many parts of the country who replied to the poll query show that thought has been given to the various aspects of America's postwar cooperation with the rest of the United Nations. While isolationist sentiments cropped up at times in unexpected places, it is encouraging to observe that by and large Americans in many walks of life realize that prosperity, and full postwar employment in our own country are intimately bound up with the problems of ensuring full employment and the wellbeing of peoples in other parts of the globe.

A typical answer, revealing enlightened self-interest, came from the divisional manager of a farm seed company in the midwest:

"The very production of lend-lease material in itself will provide more jobs, and if handled right it's going to materially improve economy of recipient countries to a point where they can provide a better market for our manufactured goods."

Many others backed up this man's viewpoint. They said:

"Inclined to think it will create jobs because if they don't get started we can't trade with them."

"More jobs? Absolutely. Your money will just be on 'interest'."

A rigger foreman in a shipbuilding plant in Minneapolis said:

"Certainly, it will mean more jobs in shipping as well as in making and getting the things out to the other countries."

And the president of a flour company in that same city remarked:

"Temporarily at least, it will mean more jobs. Our national debt is already so big we can stand a little more."

There were those who felt that lend-lease meant more jobs, but only if the United States was sure of receiving payment for her goods. They commented:

"It will ruin the country if we don't get paid for it."

"If we're not going to get paid for it, it might bring on a depression."

Among the 18 per cent who said continued lend-lease would make "no difference" was a Reading, Pennsylvania, widow who said:

"After the war the jobs will go up and down no matter what anyone says."

The superintendent of a steel mill claimed,

"It won't make any difference, we'll have enough work without it for at least six years."

Those who thought that postwar lend-lease would not result in more jobs justified their position with such statements as:

"We'll be the ones to pay for this war same as last time. We'll just be the suckers again, if we don't look out!"

But many took a broader view of the future and believed that America's economy can stand the strain of lend-lease for three more years after the war. A farmer remarked:

"More farm produce and materials shipped abroad will make more work here."

Other farmers backed him up. The manager of a large farm employing much labor said:

"Of course we shouldn't be Santa Claus—but we *need* an outlet for our goods."

Perhaps the most concise answer to the poll query came from a 43-year-old mother whose sons are in service overseas. She commented:

"We just have to help"

In that remark she expressed the faith and confidence and the generous goodwill spirit of large numbers of Americans.

This is a monthly poll of American public opinion, conducted exclusively for* Free World, *by the National Opinion Research Center, University of Denver. The survey covers a nationwide cross section of all the American people, scientifically selected to represent each group in its correct proportion in the population.

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The September Poll

Believing as FREE WORLD does, that only a well-informed people can successfully combat the dangers that lie ahead in making the peace secure, we asked the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Denver to query the American public on whether or not the press and radio are giving full coverage on foreign news. Our readers are also invited to vote on this question as stated below.

Question for September

1. Do you think the radio stations you listen to tell you enough about what goes on in foreign countries, or do you think they should tell you more?

2. Do you think the newspapers you read tell you enough about what goes on in foreign countries, or do you think they should tell you more?

3. Do you think the magazines you read tell you enough about what goes on in foreign countries, or do you think they should tell you more?

FREE WORLD, 144 Bleecker Street, New York 12, N. Y.

I think that what I am told about what goes on in foreign countries from:

the radio stations I listen to is {enough / not enough}

the newspapers I read is {enough / not enough}

the magazines I read is {enough / not enough}

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Name . . . . . .

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South American Spy Ring's Key Man Freed

BY

H. FERNANDEZ ARTUCIO

By Cable from Montevideo, Uruguay

A DRAMATIC duel is now being fought in Uruguay between the counterespionage services of the Government and functionaries of another branch of the public administration who are using every means in their power to prevent recently discovered members of a nazi spy organization from being brought to justice.

Recently a self-confessed spy of Uruguayan nationality, who had signed a full confession of his guilt, was freed by a Uruguayan judge. Horacio Camejo Azzi, a Uruguayan of good social standing, acted as post box and contact man in 1941 and 1942 between Fritz Rabe, chief of the Uruguayan spy ring, and Frederick Kempter, the chief of the Rio de Janeiro spy group who is now serving a 25-year sentence in Brazil. Azzi's association and friendship with nazis commenced in Berlin in 1936 when he represented Uruguay in the Olympic games.

The action of Judge Franca of Montevideo is more inexplicable and grave in view of the fact that he acted contrary to the strongly expressed view of the Minister of the Interior, Doctor Carbajal Victorica. The Minister supported the contention of the police and security authorities that quite apart from the necessity of bringing the guilty party to justice as a traitor to his country, his imprisonment and continued interrogation is a matter of international interest and importance. Questioning of Azzi would be a means of discovering the full details of this spy organization and its ramifications elsewhere. This would thus aid the United Nations in their arduous task of cleansing the world of nazi abscesses.

The incident, sufficiently disquieting in itself, assumes even a more sinister aspect when viewed in conjunction with previous similar events confirming the existence of strong influences which are permeating the judiciary as well as the administrative departments of the Government. These influences are constantly at work to protect the enemy and the agents engaged in their subversive organizations.

As an example we have the case of Bove Trabal, leader of the Uruguayan section of the extensive nazi spy organization located in Buenos Aires. The ring was under the orders of Siegfried Becker. Full details were discovered by the Argentine police in 1944. Bove Trabal was arrested in November 1943 when carrying from Buenos Aires a diary and letters written in German in open code. The subsequent examination by the counterespionage service revealed his connection with members of the Becker group in Argentina and Uruguay.

Bove was subjected to a cursory examination without any attempt being made to decipher the letters or to analyze the contents of the diary. After a few weeks detention he was freed. At this time Bove

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Trabal's father was Quartermaster General of the Uruguayan Army. When the judge finally released Bove's diary for examination at the request of the counterespionage service, information was obtained which resulted in the arrest of three Uruguayans, two Germans and one Italian. They were committed for trial on a charge of espionage in Uruguay, and two Uruguayans, one Italian, one Romanian and one Brazilian were committed for trial on a similar charge in Argentina.

The incident which occurred recently arose from the investigation now in hand regarding the espionage activities of Fritz Rabe, a Uruguayan who is under arrest as the result of a long investigation by the counterespionage service. He confessed having worked as a German spy in 1941 and 1942. Rabe, who was recruited by an unknown German early in 1941, provided information regarding the movements of ships in and out of the port of Montevideo. Many Allied ships whose movements were reported by Rabe, among them the Uruguay (U.S.A.) Andalucia Star (British) and Maldonado and Colonia (Uruguayan) were sunk by submarines or raiders.

Rabe at first sent his information direct to "Peters" at the Espionage control station at Hamburg by airmail but subsequently was instructed by a clandestine wireless message from Hamburg, communicated to him by Kempter of Rio, to send his reports in the future to Kempter at a cover address in Rio, using a code arranged between them for which Kempter sent Rabe the necessary code book through Camejo Azzi. This message also instructed Kempter to communicate with Rabe, through the medium of Camejo Azzi, to whom letters for Rabe should be addressed under the alias of Anacleto Rocco. The message from Hamburg to Kempter also stated that Rabe's organization had rendered valuable services for some months past.

No Cross Examination

WHEN Camejo Azzi was first arrested in April of this year, he admitted having received letters for Anacleto Rocco which he delivered to Rabe, but denied knowledge of Rabe's activities and any complicity therein. Although he was evidently prevaricating and attempting both to protect Rabe and himself, his very unsatisfactory preliminary statement was accepted by the Judge without further cross examination or interrogation, and he was freed at once. He also obtained a certificate establishing his innocence from the court of Justice. This was an almost unheard-of procedure which allows him to retain his employment with the Metallurgical and Floating Dock Company which has a working agreement with the United States Steel Company.

More recently, in consequence of further evidence obtained from Kempter in Rio, communicated to the Uruguayan authorities by the Brazilian police, orders for the arrest of Camejo Azzi, were issued by the Uruguayan Chief of Police. According to Uruguayan law, however, Camejo Azzi could not be arrested on the same count without the authority of the judge who had previously released him. Judge Franca of Montevideo refused the authority until the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Carbajal Victorica, intervened. On this occasion Camejo Azzi confessed that his previous statements were untrue and that he had been aware of the working agreement between Anacleto Rocco and Rabe, that he had received a sum of money in his own name sent by Kempter from Rio de Janeiro and intended for Rabe, and that he had received a package from the Italian Legation in 1941 containing a code book which he delivered to Rabe. He still insisted that he was unaware of the nature of Rabe's activities.

Once again he was set at liberty by the judge. And again, thanks to the intervention of the Minister of the Interior, he was arrested. Finally, as the result of some hours of interrogation, he signed a full confession stating that in 1941 he had agreed to join Rabe to work for Germany and that when a few months later he was aware that the information which they were transmitting regarding the movements of ships amounted to espionage, he agreed to continue to work with Rabe. He received the latter's assurance, he said, that the code used afforded them complete security. He declared he disapproved of the treatment accorded to Germans in Uruguay, which he attributed to British pressure.

This declaration was made voluntarily

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by him to the representative of the police and counterespionage service. Now comes the incredible fact. A few hours later, when Judge Franca learned of Camejo Azzi's confession, instead of committing him for trial he signed a decree ordering the police to give him liberty. The police temporized, and the judge, realizing the gravity of freeing Camejo Azzi without himself taking the man's declaration, decided on that course before implementing his previous order.

In accordance with the approved procedure, the hearing of Camejo Azzi's deposition began to be taken down by the registered clerk of the Court who also acts as witness. Azzi commenced to repeat word for word the confession he had made to the police the night before. Judge Franca ordered the clerk of the court out of the room and continued the proceedings alone. When subsequently Azzi's declaration emerged, as taken down by Judge Franca in these circumstances, it consisted of a complete denial of all that he had previously confessed. In addition he alleged that his previous statement had been extracted under psychological duress because, he said, he had been kept waiting some hours without his overcoat in a cold room with nowhere to sit. And so Camejo Azzi was once more set at liberty by order of the Judge.

Influence Pays

WHEN he heard the news he said, "Do you mean to say that I'm being set at liberty after all that I said last night?" But so it was, and now he is at large.

What is the mysterious explanation of the conduct of Judge Franca? Camejo Azzi himself attributes his continuous and continued immunity to the influence and assiduous offices of a previous member of the High Court of Justice and of a well-known lawyer who has some eminence as an authority on Uruguayan jurisprudence. The latter, in particular, has been working feverishly behind the scenes in Camejo's interests.

This in itself is sufficiently serious. But that Uruguayan citizens of this calibre should intervene in such a manner, on behalf of a self-confessed war criminal and traitor to his country, is still more serious. It is symptomatic of the growing tendency among certain groups to accept the Germans as welcome associates socially, financially and commercially, to let bygones be bygones and settle down to a comfortable inter-relationship now that somebody else's war is over.

It is a regrettable fact that notwithstanding the solidarity of the great majority of the Uruguayan nation against the axis and with the United Nations there has been throughout the war, and still exists, a very powerful German influence throughout some Government departments and in the higher social, commercial and official circles. Of this there have been constant proofs. In the early part of the war the control of radio broadcasts was exercised more against the pro-Allied radio station than against those disseminating nazi propaganda. Powerful influences were brought into play in government circles at the time of the Graf Spee exit.

The control of the interned sailors of the Graf Spee for some time was a farce, so much so that quite a high proportion of the more important technicians had no difficulty in escaping and leaving the country. It was years before the authorities would consent to expel Germans and other enemy subjects from key positions in the telephone exchanges. Other enemy subjects dismissed from Government employment because of their subversive tendencies were in many cases kept on full pay and in many cases have now been reinstated. There has also been failure adequately to deal with and destroy German financial, industrial and commercial firms previously, and still potentially, key strongholds of nazism as emphasized by Clayton and Braden.

Doctor Carbajal Victorica, the Minister of the Interior who is outstanding in his grasp of the situation, seems to be fighting a very difficult battle. Although the Camejo Azzi incident will be distressing and humiliating to hundreds of thousands of staunchly democratic Uruguayans, it may possibly be beneficial in the long run as being sufficiently shame-making and scandalous to shock public opinion into a proper appreciation of the danger of the present situation and of the "forgive the German" tendency.

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Will Europe Nationalize Industry?

BY

TONY SENDER

In the countries formerly occupied by the nazis, many forces tend inevitably toward the nationalization of major industries. Here is an analysis of underlying causes, with some forecast of the direction in which they point.

FOR fifteen years humanity in many parts of the world has been living through a revolution against insecurity, without fully realizing what it was. Some realized it, of course. While the common people were anxiously inquiring concerning the depression "Does this mean the end of the existing economic order? Is this its final crisis?"—the fascists were preparing to exploit the situation. But fascism had no solution. The full employment it offered was employment for death.

The fascist-nazi chapter of human history has in reality been a reaction by powerful and ruthless forces, determined to crush the revolution against insecurity.

It is no accident that the most energetic demand for a renewal of society comes from those brave guerrilla armies of the occupied countries who have learned their lessons in the bitter experience of a long agony. These men and women, having faced death daily, became clairvoyant in the appraisal of values.

This is most clearly demonstrated in France, where the strongest supporters of General de Gaulle, those of the Resistance movement, were the most articulate in their demand for structural changes. Their insistence led to the commitment in the General's address before the Consultative Assembly on March 18, 1944:

"The French democracy must be a social democracy; that is, a democracy that will insure for everyone the right to freedom of work and that will guarantee the dignity and security of all through an economic system planned with a view to developing our national resources and which will not work to the advantage of private interests. In this system the great sources of national wealth will belong to the Nation, and the direction and control of this wealth by the state will be undertaken with the assistance of workers and employers."

General de Gaulle in that same speech referred to another cause for government control of industry, the private monopolies and trusts. He declared: "It is obvious that the Government will not tolerate coalitions of interest, private monopolies or trusts, whose existence at the outset of this new period would imperil the economic and social reforms desired by the great majority of Frenchmen."

That De Gaulle was right in assuming that reforms are desired by the great majority of Frenchmen seems beyond a doubt. The Municipal elections gave a strong majority to the parties of the Left. The urgent popular pressure for reforms brought the first move on the part of the Government toward the nationalization of the key industries.

Collaboration Forced Move

BUT other potent causes lay also behind such steps. One was the collaborationist record of some employers—a willingness to play the game of the nazis which De Gaulle

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as well as the leaders of the Underground branded "a contemptible crime." Confiscation of the Renault automobile works and similar moves were made in an effort to clear the atmosphere. The Paris Gas Company was accused of having made common cause with the invader and of having generously contributed to collaborationist organizations. It was sequestrated, and representatives of its management arrested. The Resistance paper *Combat* declared: "An organization based on money has less claim to greatness or justice, since money retains privileges without accepting responsibilities."

The Minister of the National Economy, at that time Pierre Mendes-France, in November 1944 issued directives regularizing such requisitions in industry and providing for the purge of collaborationists in business concerns. The Government likewise passed an ordinance nationalizing Coal Mines of the North and establishing the "National Coal Mines of Nord and Pas de Calais."

Under the urge of the Resistance Movement, the Government sought and confiscated the archives of the Economic Control Service of the Franco-German Clearing House. They provided a plentiful harvest of revelations. As a result, the Liberation Nationale Movement, comprising seven Resistance groups, in September 1944 petitioned the Government to create mixed committees in business management. The resolution said:

"In order that the workers may participate in the management of the national economy, nationalization of the great firms of national interest, sources of power, heavy industries and especially insurance, as well as the great banks (should take place), immediately."

The novel feature of this demand is that it did not come, as in the past, uniquely from the labor parties. The Catholic parties backed it strongly, too. Monseigneur Théas, bishop of Montauban, after his liberation from a German prison camp, declared: "We who have been delivered from the nazi dictatorship wish to deliver the working class from capitalist slavery. Such is the will of God and of the Church."

Has General de Gaulle become more cautious lately in this matter of nationalization of France's industries? In his speech before the Consultative Assembly on March 2, 1945, he reiterates that the rôle of the state is to develop the great sources of power, coal, electricity, oil, the principal means of transportation, aviation and communication. But he declares that it will be for the elected representatives of the nation to effect permanent changes. This implies that he prefers to leave until after the national elections those structural changes which he had gone on record as believing to be necessary.

Nazism's purpose was to kill civil liberties, stop the march of progress. The German overlords were bent on dominating the economy of the entire continent. They pushed small enterprises out of business, acquired controlling shares in a majority of key industries and banks in the occupied countries. The remaining plants were obliged to do the bidding of the conqueror.

Nationalization Only Way Out

THESE left the Governments in many instances, after the nazi defeat, with little alternative but to nationalize industries that had long since passed out of the hands of nationals, and whose owners frequently, together with all their heirs, had been killed by the conquerors.

The Hermann Goering Works, originally a combine set up to control mining, iron production and refining companies within Germany itself, became, during the war, the octopus whose tentacles reached after all European industry. The number of its workers grew to some 700,000. Although founded as late as 1937, it succeeded in controlling, in approximate figures:

- 100 per cent of Austrian iron and steel production;
- 100 per cent of Yugoslav copper production;
- 80 per cent of the lignite output of the Sudeten region;
- 50 per cent of Czechoslovak iron and steel output;
- 50 per cent of Polish iron and steel output;
- 50 per cent of Danubian shipping.

What fell into the hands of this combine will neither be left in the hands of

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the nazis, nor can it, in most instances, be returned to the former owners. Thus, Hitler has contributed, more than any other individual, to the transfer of the wealth of the European nations to the ownership of those nations.

It was in Czechoslovakia that Hitler's dream of world domination met with its first success. Much of Czechoslovak industry became the property of German-speaking owners. They were those who had been among the most eager defenders of German nationalism and the most zealous wartime collaborationists. Their expropriation and the transfer of their enterprises to the state was certain. The new Government program states:

"Measures for a new land reform will be governed by the endeavor to free Czech and Slovak land once and for all from German and Hungarian aristocrats and traitors and give it into the hands of Czech and Slovak farmers and peasants. Confiscation of landed and other property connected with it, will be done without compensation through the National Committees. Priority in land and property priority will be given to persons who helped the struggle for national liberation: partisans, soldiers, victims of foreign terror, etc. Allotted land will pass into full ownership against a small compensation to be used for the improvement of agriculture. Compensation, which should not exceed the value of one or two years' harvest, will be paid in installments.

"The Government will strive to restore economic life which was destroyed by the occupants and traitors and to restore quickly the full production of goods for the civilian population and to secure work and wages for all who will be able to work. It will also support private initiative or enterprise to artisans and other manufacturers by giving credits, allotting raw materials, etc. The whole money and credit system, industrial key enterprises, the insurance system and natural and energy-giving sources will be turned over to the general state administration and put at the disposal of the reconstruction of national economy and of the renewal of trade and manufacture."

The declaration had more than propaganda meaning. Acts followed words. Twenty-five big enterprises already have been taken over by the Czechoslovak state. It is a temporary action to be approved by Congress after national elections have taken place. Among the enterprises confiscated are the world famous Bata Shoe factories, employing 35,000 people, and the Vitcovice Iron and Steel Works with 40,000 workers. The Scoda Works in Pilsen are now entirely the property of the State. Included in the plans for nationalization are the banks and insurance companies. The coal mines which were largely owned by persons of Sudeten origin, will no longer remain private property.

The four major parties—National Socialist party of Dr. Benes, the Catholics, the Social Democrats and the Communists —all call for a system of nationalization of the major industrial enterprises, to operate side by side with privately owned and managed industry.

Little reliable information is yet obtainable on territories under the influence of the Soviet Union. But in Norway and Belgium the trend is toward nationalization.

In Norway many branches of the economic life of the nation were state controlled prior to the war. Railroads, communications, power stations, the import and distribution of grain, and almost all public utilities, as well as alcohol and the movies, were in the hands of the state. The reforms demanded by the coalition parties that form the Norwegian Government aim at full employment and demand government intervention in this direction.

Situation in Belgium

THAT Belgium is expecting drastic measures referring to its coal mines is indicated by the movement of the quotations at the Brussels stock exchange. When the latter reopened after liberation the quotation of shares like Sofina and other industrials showed an average four-times increase. Shares for coal mines, however, had only doubled, although currency inflation had affected all. The lesser fluctuation of the coal mine shares reflects public confidence that the mines will be nationalized.

The general expectation in Belgium is for an increasing control of the economy by the state. This does not necessarily im-

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ply ownership by the state. The government has not yet made any commitment. The Belgian Workers party has the nationalization of the key industries on its program and this demand meets with the approval of the Catholics of the Left. Belgian tradition moves in the direction of government supervision of basic enterprises without outright State ownership.

There is one interesting fact about the attitude of Belgian employers during the time of occupation. Belgian business extended loans to the workers' Underground movement and to Belgian labor escaping from the German labor draft. It also worked out, with representatives of labor, a social security program which is now in effect.

British Sentiment

IN Britain, there were no real opportunities for collaboration with the enemy. Nor could the Hermann Goering Works reach across the Channel. However, in the inter-war period, Great Britain, like other countries, has experienced economic insecurity. In addition during the war years the comparison of the efficiency of the United States' industries with that of the British turned out to be a revelation of the stagnation within Britain.

British labor in these elections is leading a struggle against insecurity and inefficiency. The General Council of Trade Unions presented a report to the Congress in Blackpool, in October 1944, which argues that the choice is not between control and no control, but in principle between control by private persons finally responsible to themselves alone and control by public authorities.

The National Executive of the British Labor party claims the necessity for public ownership of the fuel and power industries, because the amalgamation generally recognized as necessary must be done under public ownership. The same is demanded for the coordination of the transport services. The private monopoly of iron and steel has kept prices high and maintained in operation high-cost inefficient plants, thus causing the comment that the time is ripe for public ownership.

The newly-formed British Common Wealth party is not less outspoken in its demand for nationalization. More surprising and indicative as a sign of the times is the attitude of such a distinguished magazine of liberal tendancy as the London *Economist.* In its issue of April 7, 1945 it discusses the very interesting Reid report on the British coal mines and arrives at suggestions which in its own words would mean that ". . . In this way the government would automatically become the dominant partner, and ultimate public control could be combined with business principles of operation."

In the sequel to his first report, *Full Employment in a Free Society,* Beveridge presents a new and original approach to the struggle against insecurity. He asks the government not to be satisfied with the traditional annual budget of public receipts and expenditures but to make an annual total of the entire economy of the country, using the whole manpower of the nation. The above mentioned outlay covers *communal* outlay of non-marketable goods and services such as education, order, health, etc.; it covers *public investment* in *industry* now under public control or which may be brought under it thereafter. It also includes *private business investment* and it will have a *private consumption outlay,* the largest head of all, which can be increased by state action in redistributing income, by measures of social security and progressive taxation.

Sir William assumes also an expansion of the sector of industry under direct public control, but he sees in this alone no guarantee for full employment. Accordingly, he arrives at his concept of the intervention of the state in the commodities market in order to maintain the labor market as a seller's market.

To sum up the aspects of the European scene dealt with in this paper—: Everywhere the revolution against insecurity is on. Defeat of nazism was only a first step. Our victory would be lost if the roots of the barbarian counter revolution were not touched, if every possible effort for the achievement of a high standard of living of the masses of the people was not made.

What the best minds are searching for is the achievement of economic security together with the preservation of civil liberties.

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Sleep In The Afternoon

BY
ANDRES IDUARTE

Latin Americans are deeply troubled by the growing conflict between the siesta tradition and modern life. As industrialization and international commerce expand, they find themselves at some disadvantage. Mexico seeks to abolish the siesta by law. Will the other Latin American nations follow?

DURING my recent visit to a Latin American country, I found it necessary to legalize an important document for which several signatures were required. My problem was to see an attorney, a sub-secretary, a department head, and a minister with the utmost haste. Traveling from office to office in a taxicab, I planned to devote an afternoon and an early evening to this chore.

But I soon learned that half a day was inadequate, because none of the above functionaries took his siesta at the same time. My attorney slept two hours, the sub-secretary absented himself for two and three-quarters hours, the busy department head was gone for three and a half hours, while the cabinet minister did not return that day. I spent four more days getting the necessary signatures and authorizations.

In outlawing the midday siesta—that venerable custom of the Latin American and Iberian peoples—Mexico has recently taken a step whose repercussions may change the lives of more than 100,000,000 people.

It is still too early to gauge the moral, economic, psychological, and biological effects of this revolution in daily living. For many Latin Americans, a taboo against siestas is even more disconcerting than a prohibition against drinking in the U.S.A.

The anti-siesta law works about as well in Mexico today as prohibition worked in the United States during the 1920's. The authorities do not anticipate one hundred per cent observance for years to come. Centuries of tradition reenforce the Latin American and Iberian custom of devoting most of the afternoon to dining with your family at home and then in napping before resuming work at from 4 to 5 p.m. Here is the average schedule of a Latin American merchant:

7:00 a.m.—Arises.
9:00 a.m.—Opens business.
1:00 p.m.—Closes business.
1:40 p.m.—Arrives home.
1:40 to 2:40 p.m.—Dines and talks en famille.
2:40 to 4:00 p.m.—Siesta.
4:40 p.m.—Reopens business.
7:15 p.m.—Closes business.
8:00 p.m.—Arrives home.
8:30 to 9:30 p.m.—Dines and chats.
11:00 p.m.—Retires.

The new Mexican law requires "horas corridas," a continuous working day.

The other American republics are watching Mexico's emotional "revolution" with deep interest. In effect, the new law marks a cleavage between old and modern concepts.

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LONDON LETTER

The Clap Of Political Thunder

BY
MARY SEATON

BRITAIN'S last parliament—the longest since Charles II's Cavalier Parliament in the eighteenth century—was dissolved on June 16 with a clap of political thunder which has since rumbled into the biggest nationwide party storm within recent memory. As I write, with the final results and poll of twenty-two northern constituencies in "little election" yet to come, Britain stands uneasily at the crossroad between a somewhat revitalized 1939 capitalism and a step in the direction of socialism. The pundits of all parties are busily assessing the outcome and most of the 1,672 candidates, weary of being presented by ardent partisans to skeptical audiences as eighth wonders of the world, are now recuperating from exhaustion.

For weeks they have been the target of every crank and pressure group throughout the country from chiropodists who want to be included in national health service and workingmen's clubs that want to booze without license restrictions, to temperance societies opposed to all drinking, from spiritualists to rationalists, from social creditors to forgotten spinster's associations and cyclists about rear lamp legislation. These subsidiary issues, however entertaining, have not diverted either candidates or electors from the tremendous reconstructions tasks which lie ahead.

The British people are urgently concerned about the four million additional homes we need, about the best way to keep up full employment, produce coal to keep the nation warm throughout the winter and provide industry with the power to switch over from war to peace. These have been the main issues. It has been a deeply serious election despite propaganda red herrings from both right and left. I believe the British people as a whole are thoroughly aware that Europe stands on the brink of a crisis. Acute widespread coal, sugar and housing shortages and the growing proof that continental problems cannot be solved except by cooperation on the basis of federation has partly penetrated even those constituencies which have always been traditionally conservative and isolationist.

In the old Parliament the Conservatives had a majority of nearly two hundred. Certainly this will be sharply reduced, though it is possible that conservatives may get a narrow majority with the liberal and independents holding the balance of power. In this case a further election is almost certain within another eighteen months as Labor will not enter a second coalition, and reconstruction issues here are too urgent and immense to be solved by any other than drastic methods.

The electors' biggest dilemma has been the conflict between personal affection for Churchill and distrust of the Conservative Party. Churchill himself, who was so pow-

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erful in war as a patriot and has proved so pitiful during the election as a political partisan, lost much sympathy by his attempts to present the Labor Party as an incipient Gestapo and by trailing Laski, as American diehards trailed Sidney Hillman, as the sinister bogey who possesses real power behind the Labor throne.

Red Herrings

THE Laski and Gestapo red herrings, most virulently boosted by Lord Beaverbrook's newspapers, roused very little serious concern throughout the country and Churchill himself was criticized by newspapers such as the *Times, Manchester Guardian* and *Economist* for so closely associating himself with cheap election tactics.

In retrospect the salient points are: (1) the inability of many thousands to vote through not being on the electral register, owing to the way the election was rushed, and an incomplete armed forces vote; (2) the failure of the socialist left to present a united front. Despite all efforts of the Communist and Common Wealth to reach agreement with Labor, the leaders of Labor themselves turned down cooperation. The result was that in sixteen out of twenty-three seats for which Common Wealth fought, and in twenty-one the Communists contested, there were likewise Labor candidates. Feeling was in some cases as bitter as their common hatred of Conservatives. This has been the Conservatives' biggest election gift. Labor prior to the election invited splinter groups to dissolve and come into the Labor Party but they not surprisingly refused and Labor's past experience has immovably prejudiced its leaders against any division of their internal authority by admitting compact and forceful bodies.

One significant outcome will be the rejuvenation of the Labor Party itself. There long has been dissatisfaction throughout the country with the aged and tepid nature of many of its Parliamentary members, particularly those trade unionists who are given seats as a reward for past services rather than training for future government. Labor's 600 odd candidates in this fight have been the best and most varied ever put forward. They include over fifty barristers and solicitors, twenty-five business executives, fourteen doctors, fifty-seven professors or schoolmasters, forty-one women (out of a total of eighty-seven women candidates) and representatives of every other profession and craft from signalman to film technician, from steel smelter to glider pilot, from artist to estate agent, from headmaster to grocery manager. These men and women, including many from the armed forces, ranged behind the Labor team of Attlee, Cripps, Morrison, Bevin, Dalton, Greenwood and Noel Baker, are the most effective challenge to the conservatives' claim that they are the only truly national party.

Churchill himself is anxiously aware of this, as was shown by his recent statement that a Labor government would mean communism throughout Europe rather than "orderly socialism"—a strange term for him to have used in view of his earlier allegations that the Labor Party is undemocratic. It is certain that a strong Labor government would try to initiate the first steps toward a federation of Europe and would cooperate immediately with socialist parties and progressive governments rather than with the monarchs, industrialists and right-wing elements which our Conservative Party by tradition backs. This in view of our present relations with Russia would have tremendous repercussions in Europe and might, in the view of most progressives here, make all the difference between building the foundations of a permanent European peace or permitting friction which might eventually lead to another war. Labor, for instance, is anxious to work with Tito, to get trade unions and free press going again in Germany. It is not yet clear what the Conservatives' policy in Germany would be. It was significant at San Francisco that representatives from progressive Dominion governments were anxious for a far more advanced international policy than our old government, and they would welcome a Labor administration here.

It is impossible until the results are out to analyze what is likely to happen either in Britain or abroad. But this much is certain: unless we tackle reconstruction, housing and reorganization, particularly of the coal industry, with the same vigor with which we prosecuted the war, Britain will be abjectly uncomfortable this winter.

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WHO'S WHO IN THIS ISSUE

RAOUL AGLION was the first Free French official in the United States. He established in New York the Fighting French delegation which he headed until 1943, when he was appointed legal counsellor to the French Embassy in Washington. He has been a delegate to all international conferences during the past two years, including the conferences of Atlantic City, Bretton Woods, Montreal, Chicago, Princeton and San Francisco. As a French delegate to the San Francisco Conference, he participated actively in the work of the committee that drafted plans for an Economic and Social Council and in the discussion and drafting of the economic section of the Charter. His article in this issue gives an interesting description of the functions of the Economic and Social Council and its importance to the peace of the world. The sixteen page picture section in this issue is devoted to the same topic.

MAX ASCOLI is professor of Political Philosophy on the Graduate Faculty of the New School for Social Research. He has long been a student of political and legal philosophy. Listed among his many books on the subject are *Fascism for Whom?* with Arthur Feiler, and *Intelligence in Politics.*

In a few days Mr. Ascoli leaves for Italy in connection with Handicraft Developments, Inc. He is one of the founders of this organization, and his trip to Italy is to survey conditions there, and to encourage and help the Italian people redevelop these skills.

TONY SENDER, who writes in this issue on the trend toward nationalization of industry in Europe, was for thirteen years a member of the German Reichstag until she had to escape for her life in March 1933. While in the Reichstag she was a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee. She had previously been editor of a woman's magazine and for three years editor for Foreign Affairs of the daily newspaper *Volkgazet* in Antwerp, Belgium. She came to the United States in 1935 as American correspondent for French and Belgian newspapers. After the invasion of these countries she remained here as a lecturer on foreign affairs, becoming a citizen of the United States. She is at present engaged in government work. She is the author of *The Autobiography of a German Rebel.*

Not only does *ULRIC BELL* know the American scene thoroughly from having worked as a newspaperman in various parts of the country, but he has, since his newspaper days, broadened and deepened his understanding of the relationship of life within these United States to what goes on in far countries. Born in Louisville, Kentucky, he started as a reporter on the *Courier-Journal,* and became city editor of that paper. He served as press adviser to Cordell Hull at the Seventh International Conference of American States in Montevideo, Uruguay, and during Hull's tour of South America in 1933-34. Bell was with the Los Angeles office of OWI Overseas Bureau when he accepted the post of executive director of the Hollywood Free World Association, later becoming director of Americans United for World Organization, formed by the coalition of many national groups supporting the idea of a world Charter.

WELLINGTON LEE was for five years editor of the only English language daily newspaper in China, the *Hankow Herald,* now called the *National Herald* of Chungking. He joined the United Nations Picture News—an organization sponsored by the American OWI, British Ministry of Information and the Chinese Ministry of Information—as assistant director, and was also briefly connected with the Central News Service, official Chinese news service. Mr. *LEE*'s article in this issue is authentic first-hand reporting on the Chinese Resistance fighters whose work in sabotaging the Japanese effort in China has had telling results.

HARRY E. WILDES, who writes about the Japanese press in this issue, was a foreign correspondent in Japan and had an opportunity to make a detailed study of the policies, ownership and international attitudes of the major newspapers in Japan. His article in this issue is probably the first authentic report indicating the resources we will find within that country for educating the people in concepts of democracy.

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BOOKS

WHAT IS LIFE? By Erwin Schrödinger. The Macmillan Company. 91 pages. $1.75

THIS little book is remarkable because in so small a space it packs so much that is thrillingly interesting and important to every thoughtful person. The author is senior professor of physics at the Institute for Advanced Studies of Trinity College, Dublin. He possesses an ability rare among scientific men: that of expressing himself dramatically and simply.

Dr. Schrödinger styles himself "the naïve professor," for he himself is venturing into a field not entirely his own, that of biology—to see how modern quantum physics applies to human inheritance; how out of infinitesimally small atoms the human being—or plant or animal—manages to emerge. He is a physicist looking at the Mendelian law with the eyes of a new curiosity engendered by his own work in another field.

"Why are atoms so small?" inquires this naïve physicist. And then he amends the question: "What I really mean is 'Why must our bodies be so large compared with the atom?' " For not only our bodies, but every cell in our bodies, turns out to be composed of a cosmic number of atoms. Why?

Well, it seems that the laws of Nature are largely "statistical." Atoms in the aggregate obey the law, but single atoms often behave very erratically, much like a nation and its individual citizens. Only if you move up into truly astronomic numbers do you reach a constancy of average behavior of the atoms upon which a human intelligence could depend.

Fixing his physicist's eye upon the chromosomes, and particularly upon the genes which carry the "code-script" for every species of life, Dr. Schrödinger discovers that those unexpected changes we call mutations are quantum jumps of the atoms within the gene. These may be caused by X-ray, many appear to be spontaneous. Many of them remain recessive in the individual, unless through consanguineous mating they have a chance to affect the offspring.

As a physicist, familiar with statistical law, Dr. Schrödinger finds himself amazed that the small number of atoms composing a gene could exhibit such orderly conduct as to be able to transmit a "code-script" for a living organism intact, with only rare mutations, over generations and even over many hundreds of years. In seeking the answer for this, too long to relate in detail here, he develops the idea that while the statistical laws of Nature are based on the order-from-disorder principle; there is another principle, that of order-from-order, which is operative in the creation of life.

Among the conclusions Dr. Schrödinger draws in this little book about life, there is one about death that bears consideration. He says:

"Experiments with plants and animals seem to indicate that in addition to comparatively rare deficiencies of a serious kind, there seem to be a host of minor ones whose chances combine to deteriorate the offspring of close-breeding as a whole. Since we are no longer inclined to eliminate failures in the harsh way the Lacedemonians used to adopt in the Taygetos mountain, we have to take a particularly serious view about these things in the case of man, where natural selection of the fittest is largely retrenched, nay, turned to the contrary. The anti-selective effect of the modern mass slaughter of the healthy youth of all nations is hardly outweighed by the consideration that in more primitive conditions war may have had a positive selective value in letting the fittest tribe survive."

In his conclusion, the author presents a comparatively new viewpoint on determinism and free will—though it is one, so this reviewer believes, toward which other scientific thinkers seem to be tending. He says: "My body functions as a pure mechanism according to the Laws of Nature. Yet I know, by incontrovertible direct experience, that I am directing its motions, of which I foresee the effects and all-important, in which case I feel and take full responsibility for them."

He finds that it is not impossible to bring these two contradictory conclusions into accord. They suggest to him that there is but one consciousness, and that all living things are aspects of this person who controls the atoms.

"Yet each of us has the indisputable impression that the sum total of his own experience and memory forms a unit, quite distinct from that of any other person. He refers to it as 'I.' What is this 'I'? If you analyze it closely you will, I think, find that it is just a little bit more than a collection of single data (experiences and memories), namely the canvas *upon which* they collected. And you will, upon close introspection, find that what you really mean by 'I,' is that ground stuff upon which they are collected. . . . Even if a skilled hypnotist succeeded in blotting out entirely all your earlier reminiscences, you would not find that he had killed *you*. In no case is there a loss of personal existence to deplore. Nor will there ever be."

LAURA VITRAY

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On Human Freedom

SAFEGUARDING CIVIL LIBERTY TODAY. Symposium by Becker, Lerner, Fly, Cushman, Biddle, Day. Cornell University Press. 158 *pages.* $2.00

AN INTERNATIONAL BILL OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN, by H. Lauterpacht. Columbia University Press. 230 *pages.* $3.00

BOTH these volumes are worthy contributions to our thinking on the great problem of our day—Freedom of Thought. This is the issue on which the world is fundamentally divided.

The symposium suffers from the ailment of any series of lectures. These 1944 Bernays lectures do present more than generalities and exhortations in several places. Becker, in discussing Political Freedom: American Style, brings out intriguing historical observations such as the reason why a natural-rights philosophy of freedom made its way in America with less resistance than it did in Europe.

Lerner, on the other hand, is far from reality. When he shouts in his lyrical sentences against Martin Dies he does not even mention that evil person nor get to the roots. Compare the vital approach of Cushman to this same incident in his chapter on Civil Liberty and Public Opinion. His points are made with the keenest professorial and logical subdivision. Cushman lays foundations for action in the need of constant recognition of interdependence of civil liberties and public opinion. Biddle does a gifted job in tracing the statutory and judicial trends of civil rights in the United States. His work as Attorney General deprived the Civil Liberties Union of much of its usual clientele. But Fly is my dish because he agrees most with my prejudices. He treats freedom from the point of view of the listener as well as from that of the utterer. He talks in terms of the marketplace of thought, the needs of diversity of opinion—right or wrong—the economic bottlenecks which in the United States are a great danger that can move us in the direction of a totalitarian government.

It's a readable book. I hope these lectures are followed up with a series of "What to do about it all." I fear the confusion and cynicism that flow from Lerner's belabored ivory tower point, that whereas our "desire for freedom has in some ways grown, the commitment to it has lessened." But all in all I enjoyed the volume and should imagine that every student of individual freedom should read it.

The Lauterpacht volume deals on the surface with the same problem, but it is a volume showing great research and elaborate thinking. We should thank the American Jewish Committee for assisting in its publication. Here, in one short volume, we find enumerated a "Human Bill of Rights" in detail, with footnotes, and with discussion of each proposed right. It is far more than an expansion of the famous H. G. Wells' "Declaration of the Rights of Man." The job done is so thorough that I should like to see the program sold to the leaders of world opinion.

In the Bill itself there are three parts and twenty articles, following a meaningful preamble. In a way it is our U. S. Bill of Rights, or at least the matrix of our first ten Amendments. After the listing of the sought-for rights the author does not rest. Bravely he goes on to debate each one—speech, religion, assembly, etc. Then techniques for international enforcement are discussed.

There is little in the entire Bill that would elicit objection from any true liberal. My concern, moreover, does not touch on the omissions, which the author lists as property rights, freedom of commerce, immigration and right to acquisition of nationality after prolonged residence. But the Bill touches on the naïve idea that freedom of thought, to take that one instance, is only in danger through governmental restrictions and censorship. I wish Lauterpacht would read Fly's piece in the other volume.

We in the United States are substantially free from state controls but our marketplace of thought is less than adequate because a decreasing number of publishers, radio and movie magnates own the remaining bottlenecks to the minds of our people. Maybe in international terms Lauterpacht was taking on enough, but surely even in those terms he misses the need of governmental controls over surreptitious dumping of secretly financed material into the marketplaces of thought. Compulsory disclosure of sources of information is an aid to freedom. Lauterpacht's Bill of Rights negates the need of stealth, a negation which needs governmental implementation.

These omissions are really minor when compared to the rest of the book, and I hope that Professor Lauterpacht's crusade continues with increasing momentum. MORRIS L. ERNST.

Morris L. Ernst has been a member of the New York bar for over thirty years. He has served as counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union on innumerable freedom of press cases.

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People Are Important

MEN AT WORK, by Stuart Chase, Harcourt, Brace and Company. 146 *pages.* $2.00

STUART CHASE'S new book *Men At Work,* written in collaboration with his wife, Marian Tyler Chase, treats in popularized style nine concrete examples of "adaptions of the power age to man—not vice versa." The examples cited show that men at work—whether they be in industry, agriculture or government—produce best when democratic processes, grass-roots participation and respect for the individual reach down to the rank-and-file worker. Five chapters deal with work in factories, three with regional and local economic planning and how to make it more democratic, and one with humanizing office work in a large government bureau, the Social Security Board.

The industrial cases presented include the Hawthorne experiments at Westinghouse Electric Company in Chicago, a Labor-Management Production Committee in a New Jersey war plant and the Training-Within-Industry program of the War Manpower Commission. The instances of economic planning cited show how three widely different types of communities were able to solve their problems by the working and planning together of all the citizens. The examples include that of 100 destitute sharecroppers in LaForge, Missouri; the town of Elma, Washington, whose depleted timber resources threatened to make it a ghost town; and communities in the Tennessee Valley Authority whose existence was threatened by the project.

The theme of this modest volume is that people are important. When a natural respect for the rank-and-file worker—the man "down the line"—exists, it *pays.* It pays not only in human values through increased job enjoyment, self respect, aroused ambition and a new spirit, but also in economic values through increased production, lower costs and solving difficult and seemingly impossible problems.

True Americans believe that democracy is the best form of government on the political front. This volume shows that the democratic process through rank-and-file participation is the most effective method on the economic front as well.

The author could have made the volume more useful had he summarized the common factors in the diverse cases presented which are required for success. Skeptics can point to labor-management production committees which produced no significant results, to cooperatives which failed and to citizens committees which did not accomplish their objectives.

The first requirement is a common goal in which every member has a direct interest and where the members are conscious of that interest. The goal can be achieved only through organization of the rank-and-file. A union, a cooperative or a citizens committee, depending on the problem to be solved, must exist to provide leadership, discipline and continunity. Finally, proper recognition or reward must be assured to the group and each individual involved.

This book has been commended to employers and workers. The employer who reads this volume can, if he desires, initiate the programs suggested in his enterprise. Most workers wishing to initiate such a program on their jobs will become active union members to work toward this goal. ANTHONY S. LUCHEK

Anthony S. Luchek is the head of the Labor Division of the WPB Regional Office in Detroit, Michigan where his approach, both scholarly and practical, to labor problems has helped to settle many knotty problems during the war period.

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They Sought Freedom

THEY SEEK A CITY, by Arna Bontemps and Jack Conroy. Doubleday, Doran. 266 *pages.* $2.75

This is a book made up for the most and best part of well-researched historical anecdotes. The central characters are American Negroes who went North to seek tolerance and opportunity. These biographical sketches are written with so much care, so much love of the subject and so much sincere desire to serve the cause of better inter-racial understanding, that they make the book valuable.

But the authors started out to write "a rounded account of Negro migration within the United States" and ended up by producing something very different—a collection of fascinating personalia.

The result is a strangely ill-titled book filled with good will and good research. It is not by any means a serious compilation of data on Negro migrations within the United States. The development of colored communities in Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia and other Northern cities is outlined. Some conflicts and accomplishments related to Negro migration are noted, notably the reaction of organized labor and of Southern opinion.

If the authors had not mentioned in their introductory note that Bucklin Moon of the publishing firm of Doubleday, Doran had wanted them to write an account of American Negro migration, the reader might not realize how short of its purpose this book really falls.

The reason appears to be that Bontemps and Conroy did not originally intend to write about Negro migration at all. Conroy had been aided by the Guggenheim Foundation to study the life of rural Southern people who became industrial workers in Detroit, Pittsburgh and Toledo. Bontemps was sponsored by the Julius Rosenwald Fund to make a study of Negroes in Illinois.

The intention of writing a book on Negro migration in the United States is an eminently worthy one. But it appears that the research on which this volume is based was not suited for this purpose. This does not imply that a thorough study has not been undertaken. The authors give us many enlightening glimpses at America's growing colored community.

It is easy to see how they became fascinated by the material they unearthed, how tempted they were to include this bit of spectacular anecdote, or that line of amusing or frightening comment. It is also understandable that they had to select and cut severely, in order to confine their writings to manageable proportions.

Aside from its deficiencies, we find a startling lack of proportion. Apparently due to Bontemps specialized research, the book is top-heavy with material dealing with Negro settlement in Chicago. While it also covers several other industrial northern cities, the book pretty well ignores Harlem.

Because of this, the anecdotal and background material in this volume does not even add up to a well-rounded picture of America's Negro community.

Nevertheless, this is a worth-while book. No amount of slick compilation or writing can possibly make up for sincerity. But sincerity is sometimes able to make up for other factors that may be lacking. That is the case in *They Seek A City*. There is none of the excessive emotionalism which frequently marks works of this type. The writers have managed to merge their style in a way which makes the book read like a good-humored and earnest discourse.

The story of Jim Beckwourth, the teller of very tall tales, scout, trapper, Indian fighter and honorary member of the Crow tribe, is presented as a charming bit of Americana. Other biographical studies, such as those of the Negro nationalist Marcus "Africa-to-the-Africans" Garvey, and the adventurous Adah Isaacs Menken, throw new light on well-known personalities of the recent past.

If the authors had not labeled this book as a study of Negro migrations, the results might have been quite agreeable. I believe that a book on this subject is, at any rate, hardly suited for a general trade publication. In an attempt to present it to the general public, scholarly efforts become submerged, and anecdotal "human interest" material is given space out of proportion to over-all trends and cold facts.

The story of Negro migration in the United States, when it is written, may well originate with the staff of Princeton University's Office of Population Research or with the American Academy of Political and Social Science. These institutions are likely to substitute substantial charts and tables for the no less substantial charms and romances of Adah Isaacs Menken, firmly ignoring sighs of regret coming from the general reading public.

MARTIN EBON

Martin Ebon who is now in government service came to this country from Germany in 1938, where he was a newspaper and magazine editor in Berlin. He has written extensively on problems of minority groups throughout the world.

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A Million Words on War

HISTORY IN THE WRITING, by Foreign Correspondents of Time, Life, and Fortune. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 395 pages. $3.00

When *Time,* the weekly newsmagazine, started in 1923 the late *Literary Digest* was flourishing because of its masterly reporting of World War I. That war reporting was the most comprehensive of its time.

They would do better, said the founders of *Time,* Henry Robinson Luce and the late Briton Hadden, if a great war occurred during their lifetimes. When World War II did develop Briton Hadden was dead. He died in 1929, of blood poisoning from his pet tomcat's scratch, but Harry Luce's magazines were flourishing.

Time, Fortune and *Life* were not only initiators in their particular fields of reporting, but no other publications approached them in skill, prestige, circulation and wealth. All this Luce at once threw into war reporting. And that reporting of the war has been the contemporaneous best in detail, the best in coverage, and by-and-large the best in conventional writing skill.

When this war began *Time* was in process of changing from a rewrite magazine to one of original reporting. It had a news bureau under David Hulburd and staff correspondents throughout the United States and in a few foreign cities. Expanding this to report the war was easy in principle, difficult in personnel. By and by skilled reporters got to every front, to every headquarter, to many national capitals.

Information for all three Luce magazines poured into Time, Inc.'s New York headquarters. It became too much to print. The surplus served usefully as background material for the rewrite staff in New York.

What else to do with that unprinted excess information? Let it stay stored as waste? How about reprocessing it for some profit? The salvage job went to Gordon Carroll.

He read through a half dozen filing cabinets, boiled 8,000,000 words down to 1,000,000, arranged them into a logical order, reprocessed them further, connected these disparate accounts with newly written matter of his own, and thus produced this 395-page *History in the Writing.*

History in the Writing presents in 82 reports (*T-L-F* editors love figures) the best survey of three years (1941-44) of this world-wide war thus far published. The reader gets a feeling of knowing all that went on: "Vichy v. France," "War Hits Manila," "As England Feels," "Tobruk," "The City That Was Stalingrad," and "What a Lonely Place to Die."

The war correspondents, whom Editor Carroll from the cloister of his filing cabinets inaccurately calls foreign correspondents, were everywhere. They saw, heard, smelled, felt, occasionally tasted; and reported. But few of them perceived enough or understood enough of what was really going on to give the significance of their experiences. Few of the fourscore reports fulfilled one of *T-L-F's* major goals—interpretation.

And, surprisingly, few of these many on-the-spot reports are written *Time*-style. Rather than being clear, complete, concise and comprehending, they are cursive, sometimes discursive. The consistently best *Time*-writing in this compilation is Editor Carroll's own connective tissue: "In November (1942), General MacArthur, from his Australian GHQ, took the offensive by land, sea and air. His surge had its beginning in adversity a month before. . . . Then MacArthur sprang his surprise. U. S. troops, he decided, were fighting in the vicinity of Buna. Army engineers had hacked a road through the world's wettest, highest jungle, enabling combat troops to cross the mountains on the Australians' flank and knock at the Japs' back door. . . ."

Fortune never gave such swift surveys. *Newsweek* now does so more consistently than now do *Time* or *Life.* A lower East Side Yiddish newspaper, *The Day,* now does so best of all.

Part reason for this is the immensity of *T-L-F* staffs. They are too many for quick processing in Time, Inc. morale, too many for group solidarity, too diverse for pattern-thinking. The sieves of censorship and the layers of editors between war correspondents and readers also dull the clearness, conciseness and completeness of the reports.

Nonetheless, the magazines are issue by issue the best in their fields, and this quintessential *History in the Writing* presents the best out of the best-of-the-field filing cabinets.

MYRON WEISS

The author of this review is a former associate editor of Time, Inc., who saw much of the development of the Luce publications from behind the scenes. He is now a magazine consultant.

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The Psychiatrist at War

THE SHAPING OF PSYCHIATRY BY WAR, by John Rawlings Rees, M. D. W. W. Norton. 154 *pages.* $2.50

WORLD WAR II has presented psychiatry with its greatest problem. Wars commonly advance medical knowledge. This war has allowed psychiatry to step many years forward. Indeed so much has been accomplished and publicized, that from all quarters there come growing demands for psychiatric interpretation of war-created disabilities. It is fortunate, therefore, that this timely, well-balanced and informative book of Dr. Rees' should be available. It contains the material of the Salmon lectures; an annual series of addresses given at the New York Academy of Medicine by an outstanding psychiatrist in commemoration of a great American psychiatrist, Dr. Thomas Salmon. There could have been no better choice than Dr. Rees who is well known in this country as Chief of Psychiatry for the British Army and as a sound, wise clinician.

The book gives with admirable brevity a very clear picture of the role that psychiatry has played in the British Army and how it has matured. Comparison shows that the role differs in many ways from the function of psychiatry in our army. Britain had little time and no preparation for the extensive screening examinations that were early developed here in the Selective Service evaluation of registrants. They had nothing comparable to our screening process. In America, out of some fifteen million men examined for their fitness for warfare, four and a quarter million were rejected. Of those who were rejected, 30 per cent were found inadequate on one or another neuro-psychiatric basis. This was a wise precaution, for it meant that over 1,200,000 men who could have developed more serious psychiatric disabilities were spared the hazards of breakdown.

In Great Britain this task fell to the psychiatrists after the men were inducted. The problem then became much more one of wise and appropriate placement within the army ranks. It was in this function that the British psychiatrists proved of greatest value, for by proper placement morale was maintained at a high level. Intimately associated with this prolem was the necessity to select appropriate leaders and officers. Our psychiatrists have served no such role. This section is perhaps the most interesting in the book. Psychiatrists and psychologists worked hand in hand to develop testing methods. Some of these were unique and imaginative. The result was the development of a series of tests which predicted with great accuracy an individual's capacity for general leadership. Dr. Rees sees in these same tests a unique procedure for peacetime, particularly as it relates to industry.

Value to Physicians

THE first section of the book describes the allocation and function of the psychiatrists in the army unit: the setting up of out-patient consultation clinics and treatment units. The selection procedures were developed to determine the most effective utilization of every given individual whether he was of low or very high grade intelligence, whether he was neurotic or stable. Very soon the psychiatrist proved his value to the general physicians, and his experience was drawn heavily upon in the organization of psychological warfare.

Psychiatric education was offered to medical officers in lectures and brief courses, and a broader educational program was undertaken for chaplains, welfare officers and regimental officers. As the initial distrust of psychiatry gave way to a genuine respect for its achievements, special studies were made possible of the personality make-up of men with venereal disease and of those who refused certain assignments, of the deserters, the delinquents and of the returned prisoners of war.

Dr. Rees looks far ahead into the postwar problems that will arise and makes wise recommendations for increasing psychiatric services in peacetime England, particularly in making provisions for treatment of ambulant cases. British psychiatry has not yet stepped as far out of the mental hospital as has American psychiatry. The author sees this science reaching out further and further into the total medical picture with special promise of help to industry. He feels rightly that the psychiatrist's background should give him a real place in the planning of industry, politics, formation of opinions and attitudes, and increasingly in the health activities of every community. THOMAS A. C. RENNIE, M. D.

Thomas A. C. Rennie, physician and psychiatrist, is now associate professor of psychiatry at Cornell University Medical College and a director of the Division on Rehabilitation of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene.

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America's Discrimination Dilemma

A RISING WIND, by Walter White. Doubleday, Doran. 155 *pages.* $2.00

THE war has thrown large groups of people together in the army and industrial centers, highlighting the imperfections in *our* democracy. The problem of the differences between our declarations and practices was already acute before the war. The fact that we are now asking men and women of every race and color to go thousands of miles away from home to work, fight and die for a democracy which is denied to some of them, has placed America in a dilemma, the answer to which may shape the kind of world we live in for years to come.

Walter White, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, says just that in his book, *A Rising Wind.*

With the blessings—not unmitigated—of the Army High Command, Walter White went to England, Africa and Italy to see what was happening to America's black army since, as American Army officers had pointed out to the British, America was sending two separate armies—one black and one white.

Walter White relates incidents, and points out the meanings they hold for peace in postwar America and the world. These incidents are as contradictory as America itself where one may witness fine examples of democracy at work and fascism of the rankest kind.

He reports talking with the white Georgia GI who preferred the Liberty Club to any "white" Red Cross Club because he had made friends with many colored soldiers. He did not know whether he could continue those friendships on his return to America, remembering, no doubt, what his piece of America was like.

Walter White found unequivocal orders from top ranking officers like General Eisenhower that officers act forthrightly to prevent discrimination, but also saw memoranda with vicious directions for the handling of Negro soldiers.

He relates that Negro soldiers are winning the respect and friendliness of the English people and, in many instances, even their championing, but there have been inevitable concessions to the prejudiced demands made by the American army officials.

Perhaps the most ominous picture that the author shows of the Negro soldier is in his account of the meeting of the 484th Engineers Battalion. He says ". . . as I watched their faces I became painfully conscious that the Negro of World War II was not a laughing Negro. The sense of humor which the Octavus Ray Cohens and the Irvin Cobbs invariably attribute to the Negro has been replaced by the warrior. One felt it in that auditorium on the shores of the Mediterranean as the chorus sang 'Show Me the Way' and 'God Shall Wipe All Tears Away.' "

The most hopeful note in the book is the author's feeling that among enlisted men there is a rising concern over discrimination. He would be the first to point out that what is happening in the army is only a part of the battle being fought on the home front to shape an America which our returning soldiers can feel was worth fighting and dying for.

Domestic Picture Brighter

TYPIFYING the American story is the picture of the Negro woman. Holding no place in the prewar automobile industry, in March 1944 more than twenty thousand could be accounted for in war industries. In addition there are hundreds of white collar and professional workers.

The Negro has written, talked, paraded, gone to Washington, donated and prayed. He has called on his white friends to do the same and they have responded generously. Black and white are learning to work side by side. Management is learning that machines and tools respond every bit as effectively in the hands of a Negro; the public is becoming accustomed to seeing Negroes in other than their "traditional places."

Americans on the home front must make this the kind of America for GI's to return to in which disillusionment and cynicism, which Walter White says will characterize the returning Negro GI, have no place. America must make her choice, Mr. White warns, unless in blind Narcissist fashion, she turns her face to a new war.

GERALDINE BLEDSOE

Geraldine Bledsoe has devoted many years of work and study to the patterns formed by segregation and caste in employment. She is now Chief of Minority Groups Service of the War Manpower Commission in Michigan.

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